

VALERIUS MAXIMUS
MINIATURES OF THE SCHOOL
OF JEAN FOUQUET, FROM A MS.
WRITTEN ABOUT A.D. 1475 FOR
PHILIPPE DE COMINES



162







VALERIUS MAXIMUS
MINIATURES

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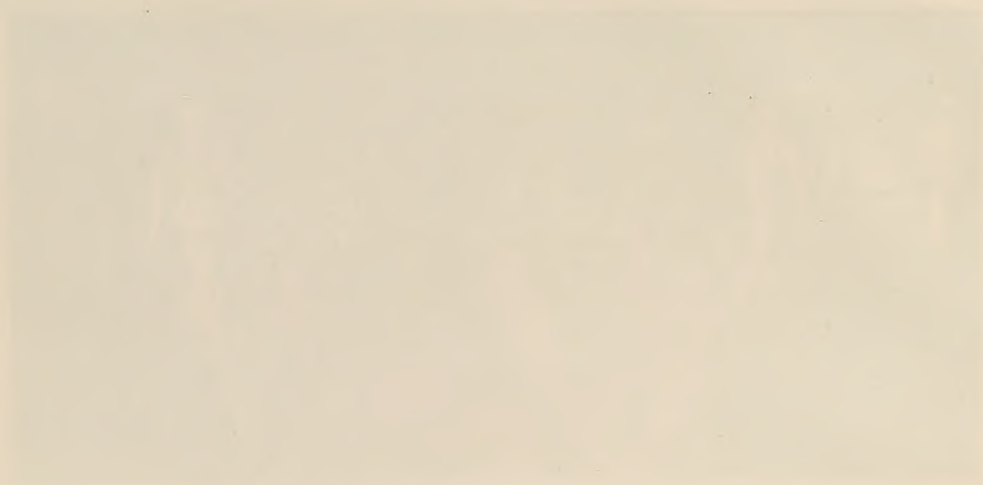


AEMILIUS MAXIMUS

MINIATURES

AEMILIUS LEPIDUS IN BATTLE (Pl. III, 1)

EXPULSION OF TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS FROM ROME (Pl. IV, 2)



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VALERIUS MAXIMUS
MINIATURES
OF THE
SCHOOL OF JEAN FOUQUET

ILLUSTRATING THE FRENCH VERSION
BY SIMON DE HESDIN AND NICHOLAS DE GONESSE
CONTAINED IN A MS. WRITTEN
ABOUT A.D. 1475 FOR
PHILIPPE DE COMINES

REPRODUCED IN PHOTOGRAVURE WITH FRONTISPIECE IN COLOUR FOR
HENRY YATES THOMPSON

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
GEORGE F. WARNER
KEEPER OF MSS. BRITISH MUSEUM



LONDON: B. QUARITCH, 15, PICCADILLY

1907

CHISWICK PRESS: CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND CO.
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

INTRODUCTION

THE manuscript of Valerius Maximus which contains the miniatures here reproduced is among the treasures of the Harley Collection in the British Museum, its two volumes bearing the numbers 4374, 4375. It claims attention primarily as a splendid example of late fifteenth century French art of the famous school of Tours which is associated with the name of Jean Fouquet, and not the least important of the problems connected with it is the identity of the artist to whom it owed its embellishment. But, further than this, a special interest attaches to it on account of its provenance, for, as every plate here will be found to testify, it belonged to no less eminent a personage than Philippe de Comines, the trusted confidant and adviser of Louis XI, and the author of "*Mémoires*" which have justly attained the position of a classic. There is in fact every reason to believe that the MS. was actually executed for him, and his choice of its subject for treatment on so sumptuous a scale is a striking comment on a passage in his "*Mémoires*," where he enlarges from his own experience on the value of the lessons to be learnt from the study of ancient history. "*Et est, ce me semble,*" he writes, "*à ce que j'ay veu plusieurs fois par experience de ce monde . . . , l'ung des grans moyens de rendre un homme saige d'avoir leu les hystoires anciennes et apprendre à se conduire et garder et entreprendre saigement par icelles et par les exemples de nos predecesseurs.*"¹ Whatever authorities he had in mind, this MS. of the "*Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*" may be taken as a proof that Valerius Maximus held a prominent place among them.

Judging from the number of copies that have survived,² the Latin work so entitled appears to have been more highly esteemed in the Middle Ages than in more modern times, since critics began to depreciate both its style and its historical value. Except among professed scholars, few probably in these days know more about it than its author's name, and a summary account of its nature and contents before entering upon the subject more immediately in view may therefore not be unwelcome. Although very little is known of its author, there is no doubt that the Caesar whom he addressed in his fulsome dedication was the Emperor Tiberius, and his main object was perhaps to provide a collection of apposite historical illustrations for use in the schools of rhetoric which sprang up in such rank luxuriance in the early days of the Empire. Whether this was so or not, the work consists of a multitude of more or less edifying anecdotes, extracted from Livy, Cicero, Sallust, and a few other less familiar writers and loosely strung together under subjects, those in which the characters are Romans being kept distinct from others relating to foreigners, which are relegated to the end of

¹ "*Mémoires*," ii, 6, ed. Dupont, 1840-1847, i, p. 156.

² In the British Museum there are twenty-five MSS. of the Latin text, all of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, together with five of the French version.

each section. There is no need to enter into details of the ninety-one chapters, under separate headings, which make up the nine books. Briefly, the first book deals with religious rites and ceremonies, the second with civil and military institutions, the third to the sixth with virtues and moral qualities. The contents of the remaining three books are much less homogeneous; but for the present purpose it is enough to say that, among a medley of other subjects, happiness is illustrated in the seventh book, public and private judgements in the eighth, and luxury, avarice, and sundry other vices in the ninth. In spite of an affected and too rhetorical style, a collection of stories of the kind could not fail to include abundant matter of interest, and its historical and ethical elements alike might be expected to appeal to a reflective mind like that of Comines, while, at the same time, if he wished to provide an artist with subjects, he could hardly have found a work which offered a wider field of choice.

But it was not the original Latin text of the "Facta et Dicta Memorabilia" that he caused to be transcribed and historiated for his own enjoyment. Owing to straitened circumstances in youth, his education had been neglected, and it appears that he knew no Latin. Although his ignorance was naturally deplored by himself,¹ modern admirers of his "Mémoires" will more incline to be thankful that he was thus forced to rely on the vernacular, by which without doubt they gained immensely in interest and value. What he would himself have preferred is perhaps hinted in his preface to them, where he expresses a hope that Angelo Cato, Archbishop of Vienne, for whom they were composed, would utilize them for some work of his own in Latin.² The three specially fine MSS. which bear his arms and undoubtedly formed part of his library are also in French. This is of course the case with his well-known copy of Froissart, now in the British Museum,³ where it is again in close proximity to his Valerius Maximus. The latter, however, and a superb copy of St. Augustine's "Cité de Dieu," apparently illustrated by the same artist, one volume of which is at the Hague⁴ and the other at Nantes, are both translations. With regard to "Les Fais et les Dis des Romains et des autres gens," by Valerius Maximus, with which we are here concerned, the note explaining the history of the French text which is found at the end of other copies of it is for some reason omitted; otherwise, it may be remarked in passing, a seventeenth century cataloguer would hardly have supposed that Comines himself was the translator and that the MS. was his autograph, merely because it contains his arms.⁵ This note, as it is given in MS. fonds français 282 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which was probably the earliest copy made of the complete work, is as follows:

"Par laide divine, sans laquelle nulle chose nest droitement commenc[e] ne profitablement continu[e] ne mence affin, est la translation de Valere le grant terminee; laquelle commença tres reverent maistre Symon de Haydin, maistre en theologie, religieux des hospitaliers de Saint Iehan de Iherusalem, qui poursuivi iusques au vii^e liure ou chapitre des Stratagemes et la lissa (sc. laissa).

¹ Kervyn de Lettenhove, "Lettres et négociations de P. de Comines," 1867, i, p. 49.

² "Esperant que vous le demandez pour le mettre en quelque œuvre que vous avez intention de faire en langue latine, dont vous estes bien usité," ed. Dupont, i, p. 3.

³ Harley MSS. 4379, 4380. The miniatures, though extremely interesting for their subjects, are much inferior to those in the Valerius Maximus.

⁴ In the Meermann-Westreenen Museum. See W. G. C. Bijvanck, "Twee Fransche Handschriften uit de xiv^e en xv^e eeuw" [1900], with plates; and P. Durrieu, "Un grand enlumineur Parisien," 1892, p. 79, nos. xxxi and xxxi bis (Bibl. de Nantes, MS. français 8).

⁵ "Deux grands volumes en velin des Histoires de Valère Maxime, mises en François. On ne voit pas le nom du traducteur, mais il semble que ce soit Philippe de Comines et que ce soit icy son original, à cause qu'on y voit ses armes et son chiffre," Claude du Molinet, in MS. 965 of the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Paris. Cf. "Mémoires," ed. Dupont, i, p. xix, and see below, p. 6.

Des la en avant iusques a la fin du livre ie Nicholas de Gonesse, maistre es ars et en theologie, ay poursuivi la dite translation au mains (*sc.* moins) mal que ay peu, du commendement et ordonnance de tres excellent et puissent prince monseigneur le duc de Berri et d'Auvergne, conte de Poitou, de Bouloingne et d'Auvergne, et a la requeste de Jacquemin Courau son tresorier. Et ne doute point que mon stile de translater nest ne si bel ne si parfait comme est celui devant. Mais ie prie a ceulx qui le liront quil le me pardonnent, car ie ne suiz mie si expert es histoire comme il estoit. Et fut finie lan mil cccc. et .i. la veille Saint Michiel larchange."

It appears therefore that the greater part of the translation, so far as Book VII, ch. iv, was by Simon de Haydin, a chaplain of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. His name is more usually and properly spelt Hesdin, and was presumably derived, like that of the Duke of Berry's famous illuminator Jacquemart de Hesdin, from the town of Hesdin, in Artois. He is also named as the translator in the "Incipit" of some copies, but probably only on the authority of the colophon above quoted. In the "petit prohesme" which he prefixed he states that the work was undertaken for the "tresnoble et trespuissant, tresexcellent et tressaige prince," Charles V of France; but he gives no clue there to his own identity, nor does he mention at what date he entered upon his task. The latter information is virtually supplied by a note which occurs in some MSS. at the end of Book I, stating that it was completed in 1375,¹ and there is a similar note to Book II with the more exact date, 2nd of May, 1377. Nothing of the kind, however, is appended to the other seven books, and as a rule the MSS. have no note, nor even a recognizable break in the text, at the point where Simon de Hesdin's share in the work came to an end. The Paris MS. already mentioned is an exception, for in the margin opposite the place (f. 287b) it contains the inscription, "Cy commence la translacion que maitre Nicole de Gonesse a faite, et ycelle continue iusques a la fin." No reason being assigned for the sudden interruption, one can only conjecture that it was caused either by Simon de Hesdin's own death, the date of which is unknown, or by that of his patron Charles V, which occurred in 1380. In any case, the translation seems to have been suspended for no less than twenty years before it was at length resumed by Nicholas de Gonesse. No more is known of him than of his predecessor; but, as the work was begun by Charles V, who founded the famous library of the Louvre and encouraged so many other translations from Latin into French,² it was fittingly brought to an end for his son John, Duke of Berry, who was an equally ardent collector and patron. But it is a question whether the credit for its completion belonged so much to him as to his treasurer Jacquemin, or Jacques, Courau, at whose request, as well as by the duke's command, Nicholas de Gonesse records that he set about the work. Courau's part seems to be explained by an entry in the catalogue of the duke's library referring to the same Paris MS. 282. It is there described³ as "un grant livre de Valerius Maximus historié et escript de lettre de court . . . le quel sire Jaques Courau lui envoia à estraines le premier jour de Janvier l'an mil cccc et i." As the year legally began on the 25th of March, this date is equivalent to the 1st of January, 1402, just three months after Nicholas de Gonesse wrote his colophon, on Michaelmas Eve, 1401. There is little doubt therefore that the work was really done at the instance and cost of Courau, and that the duke merely accepted the volume as a new year's gift when finished.

¹ "Cy fine la translacion du premier liure de Valerius Maximus . . . faite et compilee lan mil ecc soixante et quinze par frere Simon de Hesdin," etc., Bibl. Nat. fonds fr. 282, f. 71. So also in Harley MS. 4372, f. 79.

² See L. Delisle, "Le Cabinet des MSS.," i, p. 39.

³ Guiffrey, "Inventaires de Jean, Duc de Berry," 1894, i, p. 236, no. 911.

In making his translation, Simon de Hesdin, after the prevailing fashion of his time, was not content with merely rendering the Latin text into French; and his successor, though he modestly deprecated any comparison, followed closely on the same lines. The former in his preface explains that he had no thought of attempting to translate literally. "My intention is," he says, "to translate sentence by sentence, and out of hard Latin to make clear and intelligible Romance, so that everyone can comprehend it; and wherever a sentence is obscure, either from ignorance of the language or from any other cause, I propose to elucidate it as best I can." This method had its advantages, and it certainly gave scope for an imposing display of erudition; its effect, however, on the work in its French form is that the text is overwhelmed by the commentary, the two being so intermixed that, in spite of the continual repetition of the rubrics "Acteur" and "Traducteur," it is often difficult to distinguish them apart. Nor was our zealous translator content with this. As he naïvely reminds his readers, not only was the original work not exhaustive when it was first issued, but much had happened worthy of record during the thirteen hundred years that had since elapsed, and accordingly, besides the copious illustrative matter embodied in the running commentary, he thought proper to supplement the author's examples with numerous "Addicions du translateur." These would have been more valuable if they had been drawn from his own or at least recent times. As it is, though he occasionally refers to a few mediaeval chronicles, the great majority, when they are not taken from the same authorities used by Valerius Maximus himself, are from Justinus, Orosius, Suetonius, and Solinus, or from the Fathers and other ecclesiastical writers, such as Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and Isidore of Seville, and it is only rarely, and for the most part quite incidentally, that any glimpses of contemporary life and manners are to be obtained. We are only concerned, however, with the French text in so far as its character affected a series of miniatures in a particular copy; and as enough has been said to account for the fact that subjects are included among them for which the Latin work of Valerius Maximus may be searched in vain, we may now pass on to consider the MS. of Philippe de Comines to which these miniatures belong.

As already stated, it consists of the two volumes known as Harley MSS. 4374, 4375, and no doubt it was always so divided, although the original binding has long since been replaced by boards covered with purple velvet and secured by silver-gilt clasps. The volumes are of grand proportions, the leaves, of which there are 253 in the first and 264 in the second, measuring no less than 18½ inches by 13¾ inches. The character of the handwriting may be seen in the few lines embedded, as it were, in each of the plates; and, as the vellum is of superior quality, while the two columns of text, each 3 inches wide, only cover a space of about 11 inches by 7, the neat and regular calligraphy and the spacious margins would have made the MS. a veritable "livre de luxe" even without the artistic decoration which is its most interesting feature. This is not confined to the large composite miniatures, all of which have been reproduced.¹ One of these occupies nearly the whole of the first page of each of the nine books; but in addition a small miniature, the width of a column and from 3 to 4 inches high, stands at the head of every succeeding chapter, many, if not the majority, of them being apparently by the same hand as the larger miniatures. A single specimen, representing the Temple of Venus (Book I, ch. iii), is given in a photogravure of the actual size on

¹ They have been slightly reduced in size, the actual measurement being about 15½ in. by 10½ in. There are no borders, and the whole of the margin is not given in the plate.

the title-page. The beginnings of chapters after the first are further distinguished by rectangular borders, which extend down one side, and in some instances along the top and bottom, of the first column. They are of the ordinary French style of the period, consisting of ivy-sprigs with burnished gold leaves, combined with coloured or gold scroll-foliage and with daisies, violets, strawberries, and other flowers and fruits, all painted on the plain surface of the vellum. It is obvious that, as was usually the case, both these borders and the large illuminated initials were executed by other hands than those employed on the miniatures, which demanded artistic powers of a much higher order. The initials, however, are handsome examples of their kind, being generally of foliated designs or imitating rustic woodwork, with a ground of dark crimson or blue relieved by scrolls in lighter tints or in gold.

The connection of Philippe de Comines with the MS. is unmistakable, for, as may be seen in the plates, a shield bearing his arms is introduced in one part or another of each of the nine large illustrations. But there is a curious difference in the treatment of these arms in the two volumes. In Vol. I, which ends with Book IV, the arms of Comines, *gules*, a bordure and chevron *or*, three scallop shells, two and one, *argent*, are quartered with the arms of the historian's mother, Marguerite d'Arnemude, or Armuyden, *argent*, on a chief *gules* three eagles displayed *or*. In Vol. II, on the contrary, all the shields exhibit the bearings of Comines alone, without the quarterings. But on closer inspection it will be seen that, except in the case of Book VIII, where, no doubt merely by accident, the arms seem to have been originally omitted altogether, the single Comines coat has been painted over the quarterings as they are given in the other volume.¹ Why this alteration was made, and why the arms in Books I-IV were not similarly treated, it is difficult to say; but it may be noted that both on the seal² of Philippe and on his tomb³ his paternal coat only is represented, and the same too is the case in a small illuminated Book of Hours in the British Museum⁴ which must have belonged to him. On the other hand, in his Froissart (Harley MSS. 4379, 4380) the arms are invariably quartered. Besides the arms, moreover, in all the books except the eighth a monogram is more or less conspicuously displayed either within the limits of the miniature or in the margin of the page, and it may be discerned also, together with the quartered arms, on the edges of the leaves of both volumes when tightly closed. Although it is not always of precisely identical design or colouring, it may in all cases be resolved into the ornamental capitals P H. These are perhaps no more than the first two letters of the name Philippe. Monograms, however, of a very similar character in two MSS. at Paris,⁵ illustrated by the same hand, give the initials of the baptismal names of the respective owners and their wives, so that, if the analogy holds good, the H in this case will refer to Hélène de Chambes-Montsoreau, whom Comines married on 27th January, 1473. It was only a few months before, on the night of 7th August, 1472, that he secretly left Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, whose chamberlain he was, in order to enter the service of his crafty rival, Louis XI. This

¹ Apparently this was also the case with the arms in his "Cité de Dieu" at the Hague (see L. Delisle, "Origine de trois feuillets d'une Cité de Dieu," Paris, 1899, p. 7, note 1).

² "Mémoires," ed. Dupont, i, p. cxxxvii.

³ "Mémoires," ed. Chantelauze, 1881, frontispiece.

⁴ Harley MS. 2863. It contains miniatures in a rather hard, decadent style, surrounded by borders of gold scallop shells, and is probably of quite a late date in the fifteenth century.

⁵ Bibl. Nat., fonds franç. 18, 19, and 244, 245. For the former MS., in which the initials A. C. are those of Charles de Gaucourt and his wife Agnes de Vaux, see below, p. 13; the latter is a copy of the "Légende Dorée," with the initials A. K. of Antoine de Chourses and his wife Katharine de Coëtyvy. See Durrieu, *op. cit.*, pl. 4.

politic change of masters was the foundation of his fortunes, and the date of the MS. is unquestionably subsequent to it. Louis had recognized his abilities during the perilous visit which he paid to Charles the Bold at Péronne in 1468, and when he finally gained him over, he not only at once made him his chamberlain and a member of his council, but lavished on him titles, lands, and pensions, and provided him with a well-dowered wife. Comines was thus for the first time in a position to indulge his literary and artistic tastes at pleasure, which the niggardliness of his former master had before made impossible. He was in fact paying Jean Fouquet for work done for him on a Book of Hours,¹ which unfortunately is not known to have survived, as early as Whitsuntide, 1474; and probably it was no long time after he was established in the French court that these splendid volumes were also executed for him. The fact that they bear, or bore, his arms quartered with his mother's may in this respect have a special significance. Immediately after his flight the enraged Duke seized everything that he possessed within the Burgundian dominion. His maternal inheritance was thus lost to him, and as his connection with the Netherlands was thenceforth entirely broken off, it is not likely that he long delayed discarding from his arms, as he seems to have done, the quartering which especially marked his Flemish origin. The MS. may therefore be dated approximately about 1475, and evidence indeed will be given further on that it must at least have been executed before the summer of 1477. After its completion it presumably remained in his own possession until his death in 1511, except perhaps while he was in temporary disgrace during the minority of Charles VIII. That he made himself familiar with its contents is, moreover, practically certain,² and we may easily imagine that in the gloomy castle of Loches and in the Conciergerie at Paris, where he was confined between 1487 and 1489, the opening words of the prologue on "la constance de l'inconstance et variabilité de fortune," and the many examples of it in the text applicable to his own vicissitudes, must have vividly recurred to his mind. Nothing, however, is actually known of the history of the MS. until late in the seventeenth century. An inscription in each volume, carefully erased so as to be hardly recoverable even by chemical means, shows that it then belonged to the Abbey of Ste. Geneviève at Paris. It figures in fact in two inventories of the library there, one drawn up between 1681 and 1687 and the other between 1710 and 1719,³ and most probably it had been acquired by Jean Fronteau, librarian from 1648 to 1662, who distinguished himself by his zeal in collecting MSS. to replace the old monastic library, which had perished during the religious wars. Whether it was lost to the Abbey at some date after 1719 by voluntary alienation or otherwise is uncertain. It was not, however, the first MS. which is known to have found its way thence into the same English collection. Under 1st July, 1725, the well-known Humphrey Wanley, then librarian to Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, son of Robert, the first Earl, who began the collection, records in his diary the offer by James Woodman, a bookseller, of a ninth century copy of the Gospels, written in gold, which bore, as he says, the inscription, "Ex libris S. Genovefae Parisiensis." This volume is now Harley MS. 2797, and Wanley's remarks upon it throw a curious light upon the traffic which was

¹ E. Giraudet, "Les Artistes Tourangeaux," 1885, p. 170.

² "Il avoit diligemment leu et retenu toutes sortes d'histoires escrites en François et principalement des Romains," Sleidan, writing in 1548, "Mémoires de P. de Comines," ed. Lenglet, 1747, iv, pt. 2, p. 122.

³ C. Kohler, "Catalogue des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève," 1893, pp. xci, xciv. See above, p. 2, note 5.

evidently going on.¹ The Valerius Maximus perhaps came from the same questionable source. As it is not mentioned in Wanley's diary, which ends on 23rd June, 1726, a fortnight before his death, it was no doubt acquired after that date. Edward, Earl of Oxford, who must have purchased it, died in 1741, and it ultimately found a permanent home in the British Museum by the acquisition of the Harley MSS. for the nation from the Duchess of Portland, his daughter, in 1753.

To come at length to the large miniatures prefixed to the several books and here reproduced in photogravure, it will be observed that each of them is divided at equal distances into three compartments, one above the other, most of which are again divided, often more than once, from top to bottom, so that room is provided for a number of different subjects to be depicted on the same page. Except in the case of Book II, they are all taken from the first chapter of the book, the other chapters, as before stated, having each its own small miniature at its head. The artist otherwise seems to have made his selection almost at random, illustrating, just as it caught his fancy, either a story told by the author, or a comment of the translator, or the merest casual allusion by either. Among other results of this, in one instance even Biblical characters strangely make their appearance in the series (Pl. I, 3*b*). The full list of subjects, with references to the text and to the edition printed at Lyon in 1485, is as follows:

Book I, ch. i. Of Religion.

1. Valerius Maximus, kneeling, presents his book to the Emperor Tiberius,² seated in the midst of his court. [I, Dedication.]

2. (a) Ten of the sons of the chief men of Rome are sent to Etruria to be instructed in religious ceremonial. [I, i, 1.]

(*b*) Metellus, the Pontifex Maximus, forbids the Consul Postumius to leave Rome in order to conduct the war in Africa, lest the service of Mars, whose flamen or priest he was, should suffer detriment. [I, i, 2.]

(*c*) The city of Rome is taken by the Gauls. [I, i, 10, an incidental allusion.]

3. (a) Numa Pompilius, King of Rome, compels the people to observe religious ordinances on pain of death.

This subject and the next are from Simon de Hesdin's comment on I, i, 12, viz., "Cestui Numa Pompilius regna xli an et fut du temps Ezechie . . . Aussy pour ce quil voyoit que les Romains . . . estoient enclins aux enuies et a roberies . . . il ordonna tant de sacres de dieux et ceremonies, car il les fist tous ainsy comme folz" (f. 12*b*, *cf.* ed. Lyon, 1485, sig. b iii).

(*b*) Jehoiachin, King of Judah, standing at the barred window of his prison in Babylon, hears Ezekiel outside prophesying "The soul that sinneth it shall die."

(*c*) Publ[ic]ius Malleolus murders his mother and is condemned to the death of a parricide, being sewed up in a sack and thrown into the sea.

From the comment on I, i, 13 (ed. 1485, sig. b iii). The figure on the right labelled "Malus" is no doubt intended for Marius, who is casually named in the same passage. The story comes from Orosius, v, 16.

¹ "Mr. Woodman insists that, in case my Lord shall buy this book, the two last words [in the inscription] be erased, because (he said) the book was bought privatly, and should the inscription be read here and sent thither, it would do more mischief than prohibiting all future correspondence there will amount to. I answered that I don't understand (nor my Lord neither) what it is to buy books privatly, my noble Lord now, as his noble father before him, having always bought and paid for their things as in the market and above board; but, however, in case my Lord shall buy this high-priced book, I said that he might past a bit of parchment over this inscription and so let it rest for twenty years, when all effect of that inscription would be determined. For I do not love to putt a pen-knife upon an old book in order to erase" (Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MS. 772, f. 51*b*). The Book of Hours (Harley MS. 2863) mentioned above was purchased from "young Mr. Varenne," a bookseller, 1st March, 1728 (Lansd. MS. 771, f. 38*b*). There is no reason to suppose that either this MS. or the Froissart came from the Ste. Geneviève Library, but the latter, as its numeration (4379, 4380) is so close to that of the Valerius Maximus (4374, 4375), was probably aquired about the same time.

² The Emperor's crown was at first made disproportionately large and was therefore repainted. This is shown more plainly in the plate than in the original.

Book II, ch. i-iii. Of Ancient Institutions.

1. The Emperor "Octovien" (Augustus) giving audience, surrounded by his court. From the comment on the words "De ceste vie laquelle nous menons eueuse soubz le tres bon prince" (II, ii, 1), viz., "C'est a dire Octouien ou Tibere" (ed. 1485, sig. k i).
2. The first use of Velites, or light-armed foot-soldiers, in conjunction with horsemen at the siege of Capua by Fulvius Flaccus. [II, ii, 3.]
3. The assault and taking of Capua. [*Ibid.*, with comment, ed. 1485, sig. m iii.]

Book III, ch. i. Of Natural Disposition.

1. Aemilius Lepidus shows his generous nature by going into battle when a boy, slaying an enemy and saving the life of a citizen. [III, i, 1.]
2. Marcus Cato, when brought as a boy to salute Sulla the Dictator, is horrified at seeing the heads of those slain in the proscription, and demands a sword from his tutor that he may destroy the tyrant. [III, i, 2.]
3. (a) Caius Cassius cuffs Faustus Sulla, his schoolfellow, son of the Dictator, for defending his father's cruelties. [III, i, 3.]
(b) The severed heads and bodies of Pompey's nephews and of Faustus Sulla and Pompeia, his wife, are laid before Julius Caesar. [III, i, 3, comment, ed. 1485, sig. r iii, the story being from Orosius, vi, 16.]

Book IV, ch. i. Of Moderation.

1. (a) Lucretia, wife of Collatinus, is threatened with death by Sextus Tarquinius. [IV, i, 1, comment, ed. 1485, sig. y i.]
(b) Lucretia stabs herself in presence of Collatinus her husband, Lucretius her father, Brutus and Publius Valerius. [*Ibid.*]
2. (a) King Tarquinius Superbus is expelled with contumely from Rome. [IV, i, 1.]
(b) Lucretius, Collatinus, Brutus, and P. Valerius swear an oath to avenge Lucretia. [*Ibid.*]
3. (a) P. Valerius Publicola, when Consul, orders the axes to be removed from the fasces of his lictors. [*Ibid.*]

The artist represents the fasces as pennoned lances. In this he follows the translator, who, after rendering "fasces securibus vacuefaciendo" by "il osta les coignees (*sc.* axes) des fastes," adds the comment "Car cestoient ainsi que penonceaux (*sc.* pennons) de pourpre vermeille que on portoit devant les consules en signe de seigneurie" (ed. 1485, sig. y i). The axes are accordingly depicted as devices on the pennons.

- (b) The same orders his house at Rome to be demolished because, being on high ground, it seemed to dominate the city like a fortress. [*Ibid.*]

Book V, ch. i. Of Humanity and Clemency.

1. The Roman Senate releases nearly three thousand Carthaginian prisoners, refusing to accept the ransom offered for them. [V, i, 1.]
2. (a) The Senate orders Syphax, King of Numidia, who died in captivity at Tibur, to be buried at the public expense. [*Ibid.*]
(b) The beheading of "Sophonie" (Sophonisba), sister (daughter) of Hasdrubal and wife of Syphax, whom she had influenced against the Romans. [*Ibid.*, comment, ed. 1485, sig. A iii.]
The words in the text are merely "Mais aussi elle en mourut," on which the artist put his own construction. According to Livy (xxx, 15), to whom the translator refers, she died of poison sent to her by her second husband, Massinissa, in order to avoid falling alive into the hands of the Romans.
3. (a) The treacherous beheading of Pompey after the battle of Pharsalia. [V, i, 10.]
(b) Caesar weeps on seeing the severed head of Pompey, and orders it to be burned with precious unguents. [*Ibid.*]

Book VI, ch. i. Of Chastity.

1. (a) Appius Claudius, the Decemvir, adjudges Virginia to be the slave of Marcus Claudius, his client and tool. [VI, i, 2.]
(b) Virginius stabs his daughter to save her from the Decemvir, and the latter is attacked by the populace. [*Ibid.* and comment, ed. 1485, sig. E iii.]
(c) Appius Claudius destroys himself in prison. [*Ibid.*, comment.]

2. (a) The daughter of Pontius Aufidianus is betrayed by her tutor to Fannius Saturninus. [VI, i, 3.]

(b) Aufidianus slays both his daughter and the faithless tutor. [*Ibid.*]

3. (a) "Premenius" (Publius Maenius) puts a favourite freedman to death because he merely kissed his daughter. [VI, i, 4.]

(b) Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus punishes his son on suspicion of his unchastity. [VI, i, 5.]

From the introduction of the gallows in the background, the artist seems to have misunderstood the passage (left untranslated by Simon de Hesdin), "exegit poenas a filio dubiae castitatis, et punito ipse poenas pependit, voluntario secessu conspectu patriae vitando."

Book VII, ch. i. Of Happiness.

1. Q. Metellus, after a life of unalloyed felicity, dies in the midst of his family. [VII, i, 1.]

2. (a) Gyges, King of Lydia, learns from the oracle of Apollo, that Aglaus Sophidius, the poorest man of Arcadia, is happier than himself. [VII, i, 2.]

(b) Gyges, when arch-priest of Lydia, lights upon an enchanted palace and takes from the finger of a bronze equestrian statue a ring which has the power of rendering him invisible. [*Ibid.*, comment, ed. 1485, sig. H i, the story being taken from St. Ambrose, "De Officiis," iii, 5.]

3. (a) Candaules, King of Lydia, reveals to the arch-priest Gyges the beauty of his queen. [*Ibid.*, comment.]

(b) Gyges slays Candaules, discards his priestly robes and mitre, assumes the crown, and marries the widowed queen. [*Ibid.*, comment.]

Book VIII, ch. i. Of Judgements.

1. The Romans and Albans, when arrayed for battle, agree to abide by the result of a combat between the three Horatii and the three Curatii. [VIII, i, 1, comment, ed. 1485, sig. M i.]

2. The fight between the champions of Rome and Alba, when the last Horatius, by a feigned flight, slays his two remaining opponents in succession. [*Ibid.*]

Six Curatii are represented and four Horatii, with some reference perhaps to different stages in the combat.

3. (a) The surviving Horatius, on his return to Rome in triumph, slays his sister for lamenting the death of one of the Curatii, to whom she was betrothed. [*Ibid.*]

(b) Horatius, when condemned by the king and his assessors for his sister's murder, appeals successfully to the people. [*Ibid.*]

Book IX, ch. i. Of Luxury.

1. (a) C. Sergius Orata exhibits to his friends the hanging baths which he had invented. [IX, i, 1.]

The artist mistook the meaning of "pensilia balinea" in the original, rendered literally by the translator "bains pendans." The invention of which Sergius Orata had the credit was the hot chamber suspended, as it were, over the "hypocaustum," by the flues of which it was heated.

(b) The same Orata inspects his artificial preserves for sea-fish, made by the interception of tidal waters. [*Ibid.*]

2. (a) The spendthrift son of Aesopus, the tragedian, feasts on the most costly singing birds. [IX, i, 2.]

(b) The Roman women plead for the repeal of the Oppian law, enacted for the restraint of feminine luxury and extravagance. [IX, i, 3.]

3. (a) Sardanapalus, the effeminate King of Assyria, clothed in woman's attire, sits spinning among his wives. [IX, i, "Additions du traducteur," ed. 1485, sig. S i, from Justinus, i, 3.]

(b) The same, on the loss of his power and the capture of his city, immolates himself and his riches by fire. [*Ibid.*]

At the time when these miniatures were painted the decoration of MSS., and more especially those of a secular character, had undergone a notable change from the style of the earlier part of the fifteenth century. As if the object were no longer so much to enrich and beautify as to illustrate, the brilliant effects of burnished gold, with backgrounds of richly coloured diapers or scroll-work, or of the barest conventional

suggestions of landscape, were relinquished in favour of more pictorial and naturalistic methods of treatment, which affected the landscape and other surroundings as well as the figures, so that they now became an integral part of the composition. In the hands of so consummate an artist as Jean Fouquet this style attained a degree of excellence which was beyond the reach of other members of the Tours school, and it is vain to expect in the scenes here depicted the same power of expression, subtle sense of colour, and fine effects of atmosphere and distance which are to be found, for example, in the Book of Hours, now at Chantilly, which that master executed for Etienne Chevalier,¹ or in his equally famous Josephus, the two volumes of which after long separation have lately been once more happily re-united in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.² With this reservation it would be difficult to find better and more characteristic examples of the art of miniature-painting which flourished in France under Louis XI and his successor; or, if there are any which rival, or even excel them, they must be sought among other works of the same artist to which attention will presently be directed. His style is in many respects so distinctive that it may be recognized without much hesitation wherever it is encountered. In the miniatures here his uniform practice with regard to indoor subjects is to enclose them between columns supporting a simple architrave or flattened arch with delicate gold tracery at the junction, the shafts being generally of light-coloured marble spirally grooved, and the capitals and bases of dull gold. A typical setting of this kind may be seen at the head of the first plate, while at the same time the miniature framed by it shows the usual mode of treating an interior. Nothing could be simpler or better adapted, by the avoidance of all decorative accessories, to concentrate attention on the actors in the scene. The bare walls, with windows protected by massive wooden shutters, are painted a pale violet with darker cross-hatching, and the pavement is in a chequer-pattern of green marble. Elsewhere we have equally plain walls in pink or gray, with floors in some cases covered with plaited matting. In the figures, speaking of the MS. generally, there is more realism than refinement, but on the whole they are well-drawn and animated, and the grouping is often excellent. The features, which are sometimes rather warm in tone, were carefully worked up by a kind of stippling process, with a tendency, however, to repeat particular facial types. One of these, of which the figure standing to the left of the Emperor in the foreground of Pl. II, 1 may serve for an example, is especially characteristic. In order that there may be no mistake as to the principal characters, their names are attached to them in white or gold letters, and in a few instances (Pl. I) words which they are supposed to be uttering are inscribed on scrolls, the language employed being not French but Latin. Costumes and armour throughout, as might be expected, are in the fashions of the artist's own time, so that the scenes in Pl. I, 1, II, 1, might easily be mistaken for the audience-chamber of Louis XI, instead of that of a Roman Emperor.³ The ordinary civil

¹ "Chantilly. Le Cabinet des Livres. Manuscrits," 1900, i, p. 75, no. 71; Curmer, "Œuvre de Jehan Fouquet," 1866.

² Fonds français 247 and 21013 (nouv. acq.). Vol. II, which had long been lost, was identified and purchased by Mr. H. Yates Thompson at a sale in London in 1903, but only the first, and finest, of its thirteen miniatures remained in it, the pages containing the rest having been cut out. Two years later ten of them were discovered in an album in the Royal Library at Windsor, and Mr. Thompson thereupon presented his MS. to the King, who caused the missing leaves to be replaced and personally handed over the volume to the President of the French Republic. See H. Omont, "Antiquités et Guerre des Juifs de Josèphe. Reproduction des 25 miniatures des MSS. fr. 247 et nouv. acq. 21013," etc., Paris [1906].

³ They may be compared with the frontispiece in Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds fr. 18 (see below, p. 13, note 2).

costume, as worn by the attendant courtiers, consists of a long gown girded at the waist and frequently furred round the lower edge, together with an upper garment or mantle of a different colour. One form of this is full, and hangs loosely, enveloping the whole body except on the right side, where it is open up to the shoulder. Another, equally common, is confined by the girdle, and consists of a long narrow strip, in many cases with scalloped edges; it has an opening in the middle to admit the head, and thus hangs down in front and behind, but leaves both sides uncovered. A third variety (Pl. II, 1), also girded, has long sleeves, and is only slit from the hips downward, much in the same way as a woman's skirt, revealing the petticoat beneath. Feminine costume is best displayed in Pl. VII, both among the group of women round the bed of the dying Metellus, and by the more richly clothed Queen of Candaules in the lowest compartment. Its most striking feature is the high conical head-dress, familiar in pictures of the period, from the apex of which there often hangs a long scarf or veil, looped up over the hip. A sort of turban and a fez-like cap are also worn, neither of which is any more becoming than the other tapering erection. There is greater variety, and perhaps more taste, in the men's head-gear, and Roman senators in particular are distinguished by a low, flat, closely-fitting cap with the edges turned up all round, under which is a white coif encircling the face (Pl. V, 1, 2, IX, 2*b*). With regard to the colouring, the general effect is that of richness and brilliance, the two most prominent colours being blue and rose-pink, but golden brown, green, light yellow and a vivid orange-red are also common. At the same time a decided partiality is also shown for softer tones of violet and gray, while the figures in the background, or of minor importance, are clad in garments of sober hue, chiefly in dark shades of violet, gray or brown. To take an example other than those in the coloured frontispiece, in the first scene the Emperor Tiberius wears a bright blue robe, half hidden under a long gray mantle lined with ermine, and the canopy beneath which he is seated is of rose-pink stuff embroidered in gold; the gown and cap of the author, who is kneeling before him, are also blue, but his mantle is pink. Again, in Pl. VII, 3, already mentioned, Candaules, King of Lydia, is in pale violet and pink, Gyges, the arch-priest, in pale yellow and blue, while the Queen wears a long trailing gown of crimson and gold brocade, a blue petticoat, a green corsage with white edging, and a head-dress in violet and black. There is a peculiarity about the orange-red which must strike every one who has the opportunity of seeing the original MS. Except very rarely for a short tunic or surcoat, this colour is never used for drapery, but it is restricted almost entirely to boots, caps and girdles. For these articles of dress, and for high boots more especially, the artist had a strong taste for it, as appears not only from this MS. but from all others which bear the mark of his hand. Equally characteristic is the way in which the colours are often washed or hatched with gold in order to heighten the effect. This was a favourite device of Jean Fouquet, whose influence in this as in other respects may be traced all through the MS. In the photogravures of course the gold is hardly perceptible, but it is conspicuous enough in the two coloured plates which compose the frontispiece.¹ One of these is the spirited battle-scene which illustrates the precocious military ardour of Aemilius Lepidus (Pl. III, 1); the other represents the tyrant Tarquin being literally kicked out of Rome, the walls and crowded buildings of which are seen on the left (Pl. IV, 2). In the former the two knights in gilded armour sitting motionless in their

¹ A coloured reproduction of the first two compartments of Pl. IX will be found in "Illuminated MSS. in the British Museum," ed. G. F. Warner, series ii, 1900, pl. 14.

saddles, and the dark surging mass of combatants beyond, are quite in Fouquet's manner. The same pair of champions re-appear further on in Pl. VIII, 1, and they are also found, in actual conflict, in two other battle-scenes apparently by the same hand. Although the subject in such a connection is unusual, both of these illustrate the Office of the Dead in small Books of Hours, one of which belongs to Mr. H. Yates Thompson,¹ while the other was in the Duke of Hamilton's collection, now dispersed.² Possibly the original source of all these designs was Fouquet's fine miniature of a battle between the Israelites and Canaanites in the Paris MS. of Josephus.³ It will be noticed, moreover, that in both plates of the frontispiece the blue sky is thickly bespangled with gold stars. Notwithstanding the strangeness of such a phenomenon in broad daylight, it is in fact repeated in every miniature in the MS., large or small, in which the sky is visible. It therefore furnishes an additional test for identifying the hand; and if we turn to the landscapes in the same miniatures, yet another may be found in a curious, abrupt, conical form of hill, of a dark brown or slate colour, which in several of them is obtrusively prominent (Pl. III, 1, VII, 2, etc.). Something of the same kind may be seen both in Fouquet's Book of Hours at Chantilly, and in his Josephus. The landscapes, however, take their character, not so much from this or other natural features, as from the picturesque distant views of walled towns which are frequently introduced in them. Some of these form a very effective background, and there is an air of reality about them which the more pretentious nearer buildings, interesting as they are architecturally, do not always possess. Naturally the perspective gave the artist more trouble in these open air scenes than when he was dealing with interiors, and it is sometimes seriously at fault, as, for example, in the case of the man mounting a ladder in Pl. IV, 3b, or in the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii in Pl. VIII, 2. The last named miniature, indeed, contrasts so unfavourably with the majority, including those immediately above and below it, that one is tempted to suspect that it may be the work of another less practised hand. This is quite possible, not only in this case but in a few others, for there is little doubt that our artist had others working under him who closely imitated his style, and miniatures in at least two MSS. in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Nero D. ix and Add. MS. 25885, may be cited as examples. But even if he was personally responsible for what is least successful, enough remains to justify his claim to a foremost place among contemporary miniaturists. In illustrating such an author as Valerius Maximus he had a free hand, unhampered, as in the case of Service-books, by conventional canons of treatment, and his designs do not lack dramatic force. Modern taste no doubt will not wholly approve his choice of subjects, some of which, notably those in Pl. III, 2, 3, may perhaps excite disgust. The Middle Ages, however, were less sensitive, and it is too probable that Louis XI and his infamous satellite Tristan L'Hermite had familiarized him with scenes hardly, if at all, less repulsive than any which he took from Roman history. One of the most realistic of the smaller miniatures,⁴ not here reproduced, is grimly suggestive on this point. It represents a torture-chamber, with a poor wretch being put to the question, and on the hangings behind the seat of the official who is coldly

¹ See an engraved plate in "Mémoires de P. de Commynes," ed. Chantelaube, 1881, p. 315. The MS. was executed for René II, Duke of Lorraine (1473-1508).

² "Catalogue of ninety-one MSS. . . . chiefly from the famous Hamilton collection," sold at Sotheby's, 23rd May, 1889, lot 79, pl. vi.

³ Plate 4 in the Reproductions (see above, p. 10, note 2). See also Curmer, opposite p. 193.

⁴ Book VI, ch. viii, "De la foy de serfs envers leurs seigneurs," vol. ii, f. 70b.

directing the proceedings are the *fleurs-de-lis* of France *semées*, the anachronism being completed by a Crucifix carved above.

That the artist's name is not revealed in the MS. is what mediaeval usage would lead one to expect, and it is only by a happy accident that some light is thrown upon it from another quarter. Reference has before been made to a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, numbered fonds français 18 and 19. The two huge folios of which it is composed contain a copy of the "Cité de Dieu," the French version of St. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei" made by Raoul de Presles; and it is known by the arms in the borders, still visible beneath those of a later owner painted over them, to have been executed for Charles de Gaucourt, who shared with Comines the honour of being a chamberlain and councillor to Louis XI, and in 1472 was made Governor of Paris, where he died ten years later. The MS. owes its special distinction to the twenty-four superb miniatures which precede the several books. Full descriptions of these have been published by M. Louis Thuasne,¹ and the MS., with other historiated copies of the "Cité de Dieu" intimately connected with it, will be fully discussed with unequalled knowledge of the subject in a forthcoming monograph by Count A. de Laborde. Meanwhile, among its many points of interest, the one that most concerns us here is that indirectly it supplies the clue by which the authorship of the miniatures in this Valerius Maximus of Comines may to a certain extent be determined. A comparison of the two MSS. shows at once that they were written by different scribes, the hand of the Valerius Maximus being decidedly the better. In the miniatures, on the contrary, the similarity of style is remarkable, extending to the smallest minutiae,² and it leaves no room for doubt that, with a few possible exceptions, they were painted by the same artist. This was fully recognized in fact some years ago by Count Paul Durrieu, one of the highest authorities on French illumination, but he too hastily identified this artist with a certain Jacques de Besançon, of Paris, whom he also credited with everything he could find by the same hand in other MSS. The theory, which, to judge from Jacques de Besançon's single undoubted work, did him too much honour, has since been completely disproved in the case of one MS., and therefore cannot hold good with the rest. The miniatures in the Gaucourt "Cité de Dieu," as is now known, were unquestionably executed by an artist described as the "egregius pictor Franciscus," under the direction of the scholar, diplomatist, and chronicler Robert Gaguin, and apparently also from designs suggested by him. This we learn, not from the MS. itself, but from a letter of Gaguin to Charles de Gaucourt, written from Paris, 19th of August, 1473, and printed in his "Epistolae et Orationes" as early as 1498, though it was not until 1898 that attention was first directed to it by M. Thuasne.³ As it speaks of the miniatures as recently finished, the MS. was a long time on hand, for the first volume, according to a note by the scribe at the end, was written as early as 1469. Unfortunately, though Gaguin eulogizes this François as a

¹ "François Fouquet et les miniatures de la Cité de Dieu, de Saint Augustin," in the "Revue des Bibliothèques," Paris, 1898, p. 33.

² A reduced facsimile of the frontispiece is given by M. Thuasne, and also by P. Durrieu, "Un grand enlumineur Parisien, au xv^e siècle. Jacques de Besançon et son œuvre," Paris, 1892, pl. iii. The arms which appear in the border are those of the later owner, Louis Malet de Graville, Admiral of France (d. 1516).

³ "Liniamenta picturarum et imaginum rationes quas libris de Civitate Dei prepingendas jussisti a nobis accepit egregius pictor Franciscus, casque, ut ceperat, perpolitissime absolvit. Is enim est pingendi tam consumatus artifex ut illi jure cesserit Apelles," *op. cit.* p. 37, and "R. Gaguini epistolae et orationes," ed. L. Thuasne, 1904, i, p. 225. The Latin sentences on the scrolls, which are a feature of the MS., were almost certainly supplied by Gaguin, and he was possibly also responsible for those in our Valerius Maximus (above, p. 10).

consummate master of his art, superior even to the Greek Apelles, he omits to give his full name, so that something still remains to be discovered. It has been pointed out¹ that a "maître François l'enlumineur" was included, with his "compagnon," in 1473 among the household of Charles d'Anjou, Comte du Maine, and it is by no means unlikely that Gaguin's François was the same person. M. Thuasne goes further and identifies him confidently as François Fouquet, of whom, however, nothing is known except that he was a son of Jean Fouquet and was mentioned with his father and his brother Louis by a late sixteenth century writer, Jean Brèche, an *avocat* of Tours, among the painters who had done honour to that city. This identification, though certainly attractive at first sight, has not met with general acceptance. M. Thuasne relies greatly on what he calls the "air de famille" in the style of the "Cité de Dieu." This, however, is not so strongly marked, still less so conclusive, as he would have us believe, and Jean Fouquet's influence undoubtedly affected others of the Tours school besides his own sons. There is some force too in the criticisms of M. de Grandmaison,² who argues, not only that François Fouquet must have been too young at the time to have been in such high repute, but that François in Gaguin's letter, instead of being a baptismal name, more probably represents the patronymic François, which is by no means uncommon. There was in fact an artistic family in Touraine so named,³ and he puts forward a claim on behalf of one Saturnin François, who was employed in 1480 by the celebrated sculptor Michel Colombe to paint the figures on a tomb at Maillezais. Although it is probable enough that, like Jean Fouquet himself, this "maître peintre de Tours"⁴ did not confine himself exclusively to one branch of his art, there appears to be no actual evidence that he worked on MSS., and for lack of it the case made out for him is far from being a strong one. For the present therefore we must be content to leave the question unsettled; but considering that, besides the two MSS. which the "egregius pictor Franciscus" executed for Gaucourt and Comines, a large number of others still extant, of nearly, if not quite, equal importance, can fairly be attributed to him, it is difficult to believe that he has not been explicitly named somewhere in public or private records of the time, and eventually, with the help of the above clue which we owe to M. Thuasne, his identity may perhaps be established beyond dispute. While the designs and treatment of Gaucourt's MS. have been followed more or less closely in other copies of the "Cité de Dieu," including the Hague-Nantes MS. which belonged to Comines, there is at least one instance in which the miniatures of the latter's Valerius Maximus were utilized as models in a similar way, though certainly not by the original artist. The MS. in which this was done is a copy of the same French version in the Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 41, which belonged to Jacques d'Armagnac, Duc de Nemours. It must therefore have been executed before the date of his death, the 4th of August, 1477, and the posterior limit of date for the Comines MS., which is clearly the archetype, may thus be fixed somewhat earlier still. In the two MSS. the subjects of the large composite miniatures before the several books are practically identical, though the Paris MS. exhibits a few curious modifications. Thus, in Book I, all the scenes are the same except that of the capture of the city; in Book II, the third scene is the triumphant entry of the victorious general with prisoners; in Book III, in

¹ Catalogue of the exhibition of "Les Primitifs Français," 1904, MSS. à peintures, p. 50, nos. 141, 142.

² "Bulletin de l'Art ancien et moderne," Paris, 1899, pp. 253, 261.

³ Cf. Giraudet, "Les artistes Tourangeaux," p. 177.

⁴ "Gazette des Beaux Arts," xxix, 1884, p. 411.

the battle scene the two knights in gilded armour do not appear; in Book IV, though the subjects are the same, they are differently treated; in Book V, the beheading of Pompey takes place indoors and in the presence of Ptolemy; and in Book VII both the first and second scenes are divided into two. The finest pages are those which precede Books V and IX, the six scenes in the latter being precisely the same as in the Comines MS., but all the miniatures in the Paris copy are distinctly inferior.

Naturally the greater part of the work of the artist patronized by Gaucourt and Comines is to be found in various libraries in France. In addition, however, to the great folio Valerius Maximus in the Harley collection, a few miniatures apparently by his hand are included in a copy¹ of the French version of Boccaccio "*de casibus virorum et feminarum illustrium*" which was bequeathed to the British Museum by Baron Ferdinand Rothschild in 1898, and there are also two other MSS. in this country which claim some notice, if only by way of contrast, as examples of his art when working on a much smaller scale and dealing mostly with religious subjects. One of them is the Book of Hours already mentioned of René II, Duke of Lorraine, now in the unrivalled private collection of illuminated MSS. formed with rare taste and judgement in recent years by Mr. H. Yates Thompson. It is a small, beautifully written volume of seventy-eight leaves, measuring 5½ inches by 4½, and besides a delightful series of little calendar scenes includes twelve larger miniatures, the first two and last three of which are not, like the rest, curtailed by borders but fill nearly the entire page. In the first,² which represents the youthful Duke René kneeling before the Virgin and Child, with two angels behind him playing a harp and a mandolin, we have a singularly effective example of our artist's skill in portraiture, unless, as may possibly be the case, this miniature is by another hand. The next subject, immediately preceding the Hours of the Virgin, is remarkable for its very close resemblance to the upper half of the page reproduced by Count P. Durrieu from the "*Légende Dorée*" in MS. fonds français 244 in the Bibliothèque Nationale.³ At the top the Father and Son sit enthroned, with the Holy Dove between them; on either side hovers an angel playing a musical instrument, and a third angel, holding a sceptre, kneels in adoration in the centre, while to left and right Mercy and Truth are clasping hands and Righteousness and Peace are kissing, in allusion to Psalm lxxxv, 10 (Vulgate, lxxxiv, 11). The scene of the Annunciation, which in the Paris MS. occupies the space between the two pairs of emblematic female figures, is in a separate compartment below, but otherwise the treatment is practically the same. Although there are peculiar touches in each, the seven subjects that follow, viz., the Salutation, the Nativity, the Shepherds at Bethlehem, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, and the Coronation of the Virgin, are of a more conventional type, with the exception of the third, which is at the head of the office for Tierce. This charming composition depicts a number of shepherds and shepherdesses dancing merrily with joined hands in a ring to the music of a piper, with sheep grazing beyond, and a river and park-like scenery in the background. As is mostly the case throughout the MS., the colouring is in the softest tones of gray, violet and blue, one of the women, however, wearing a

¹ Add. MS. 35321. See a paper by Sir E. M. Thompson in "*The Burlington Magazine*," vii, 1905, p. 198, with plates. The MS. was formerly in the Hamilton collection.

² Reproduced in the "*Catalogue illustré des livres précieux manuscrits et imprimés . . . de M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot*," Paris, 1878, MS. 21, where all the miniatures are described in detail.

³ See above, p. 5, note 5.

cap of the familiar bright orange-red. The miniature of David in prayer, before the Penitential Psalms, is still more characteristic of the artist's style. The scene is in a Gothic chapel, and the King is kneeling before the Ark, which is shaped like a golden shrine or *chasse* raised on four high columns; behind him on the right is a group of musicians and others, and in the foreground on the left a man is playing an organ, to which another is supplying air with a large pair of bellows. Both in this subject and in an equally admirable one which follows, representing the Virgin surrounded by the Apostles at Pentecost, the figures, and their features in particular, strongly recall those in the Valerius Maximus. The final miniature, the battle-scene before the Office of the Dead, has been noticed above (p. 12) in connection with one in the Valerius Maximus, but in accuracy of drawing and in the intense vigour of its action it far excels the latter. In the background the battle is raging furiously, while nearer, with appropriate reference to the subject-matter of the text, the survivors are engaged in burying the dead, whose corpses are strewn over the field; and it is curious that a portion of the design, where, on the right and left, two bodies are being lowered into their graves, is utilized by the artist for quite another subject in Egerton MS. 2045 in the British Museum. This is the second of the two choice examples of his work on a small scale referred to above as being in English collections. Like Mr. Yates Thompson's MS., it is a Book of Hours, but it is a still more dainty little volume, measuring only $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$, and in every way fully meriting Count P. Durrieu's description of it as a "véritable bijou de bibliophile."¹ Although there is no evidence to show who was its first owner, it contains later signatures of members of the Luxembourg family, and it may therefore have been executed for Louis de Luxembourg, Count of St. Pol, Constable of France, who was beheaded in 1475, or for his son and successor, Pierre, who died in 1482. In either case it was no doubt intended for the use of the Countess, for its diminutive size and general appearance, with its numerous silk markers united together in two little cushions at the top, are eminently suggestive of a great lady's private book of devotion. Of the eighteen miniatures only twelve can be assigned to the "egregius pictor Franciscus," the rest being in a later hand of Flemish type of no particular merit. The connection with the René of Lorraine MS. is obvious from the very similar treatment and soft tones of colour of several of the same subjects, notably that of the Annunciation, where the Trinity, the angel worshipping, and the emblematic figures from Psalm lxxxv appear in exactly the same way. On the other hand, the dancing scene as above described is replaced by another design altogether, the centre being occupied by a closely-wattled pen crowded with sheep, while shepherds sit and stand about outside, one of them playing a bagpipe. There is also a marked difference in the miniature before the Penitential Psalms, David being represented in the upper part praying alone in his chamber, and in the lower part slaying Goliath. An exquisite little picture of the Crucifixion which follows is a subject peculiar to the St. Pol MS., the Hours of the Cross, to which it is attached, not being included in the other volume; at the foot of it two soldiers are quarrelling fiercely over the dice. Instead of a battle-scene before the Office of the Dead, there is a very singular design. On a level plain, on which are a number of open graves, no less than eleven crosses are erected, on nine of which the Saviour is hanging; in the foreground on the left two angels are laying His

¹ "Un grand enlumineur," p. 64, no. xii. Two miniatures from it are about to appear in "Reproductions from Illuminated MSS. in the British Museum," Series I, plate xxxi.

body in a grave, in which one of them is standing, and two other angels are doing the same in the opposite corner, the action and attitudes in both cases being absolutely identical with those of the men burying the dead in the René of Lorraine MS.

These two fine Books of Hours and the Valerius Maximus are between them fairly representative of an artist who seems to have been as versatile as he was prolific, and the peculiarities of his style are no less patent in the tiny, delicately painted subjects of Egerton MS. 2045 than they are in the series of plates from the larger MS. contained in the present volume. The value of such reproductions for comparison with other MSS., when the originals are widely scattered in public and private libraries and cannot be studied side by side, is self-evident, and their multiplication must be desired by all those who are interested in the history of mediaeval illumination and miniature-painting. To Mr. Yates Thompson we are already much indebted for more than one publication of the kind dealing with choice MSS. in his own possession; but in this instance he has shown his appreciation of an important MS. in the National Library. It only remains to say that Mr. Emery Walker is responsible for the photogravures, and that the coloured frontispiece is the work of Mr. William Griggs.







PLATE I
BOOK I, CH. I
OF RELIGION
See page 7





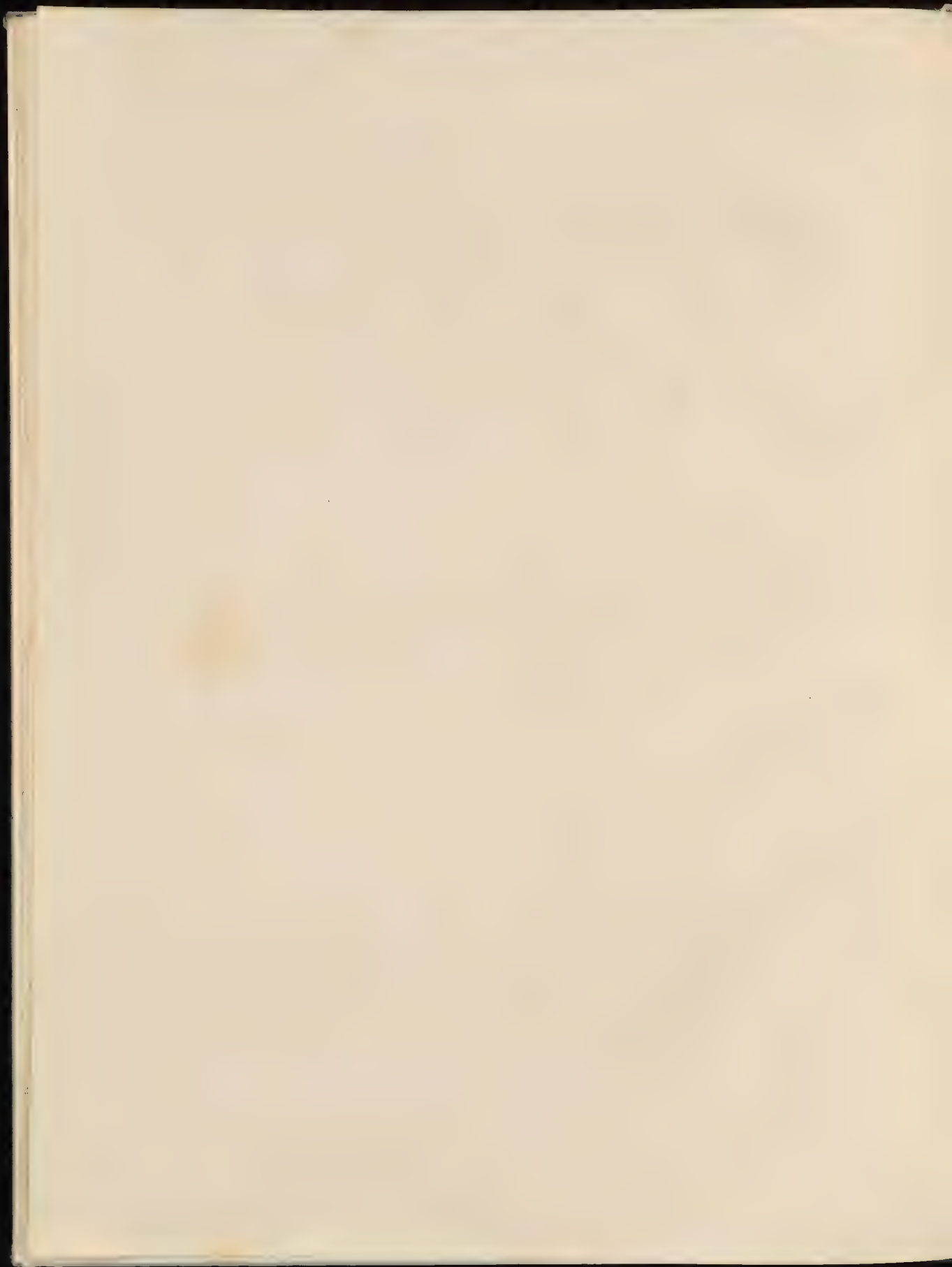
La breche et fin
 lire de ceste doleu
 se vie et mortelle.
 La confiance de

l'inconscience et d'incertitude de l'hom
 me. La mutation aussi de la volonte
 re et de la pensee humaine sont les
 causes pour quoy l'homme n'est

La breche et fin
 lire de ceste doleu
 se vie et mortelle.
 La confiance de



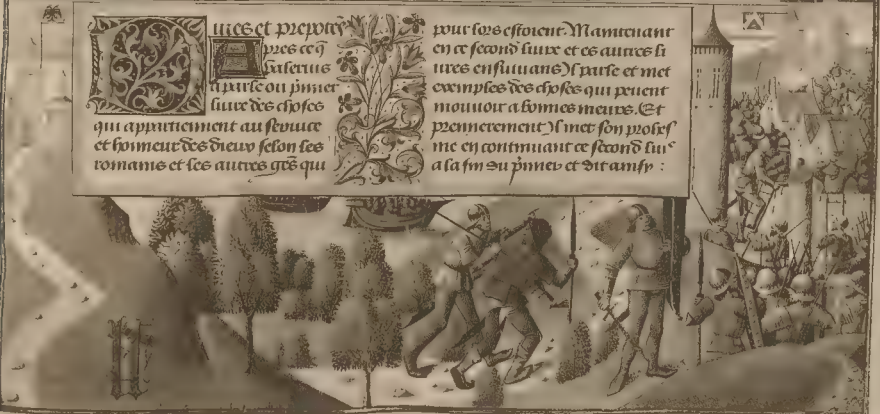
PLATE II
BOOK II, CH. I-III
OF ANCIENT INSTITUTIONS
See page 8





Livres et preceptes
 apres ces
 livres
 a parer ou punir
 liure des choses
 qui appartiennent au service
 et honneur des dieux selonc les
 romains et les autres grés qui

pour lors estoient. Maintenant
 en ce second liure et es autres li
 vres ensuiuans Il parle et met
 exemples des choses qui peuent
 mouuoir a homes meutes. Et
 premierement Il met son profes
 me en continuant ce second liu
 a la fin du premier et dit ainsi :



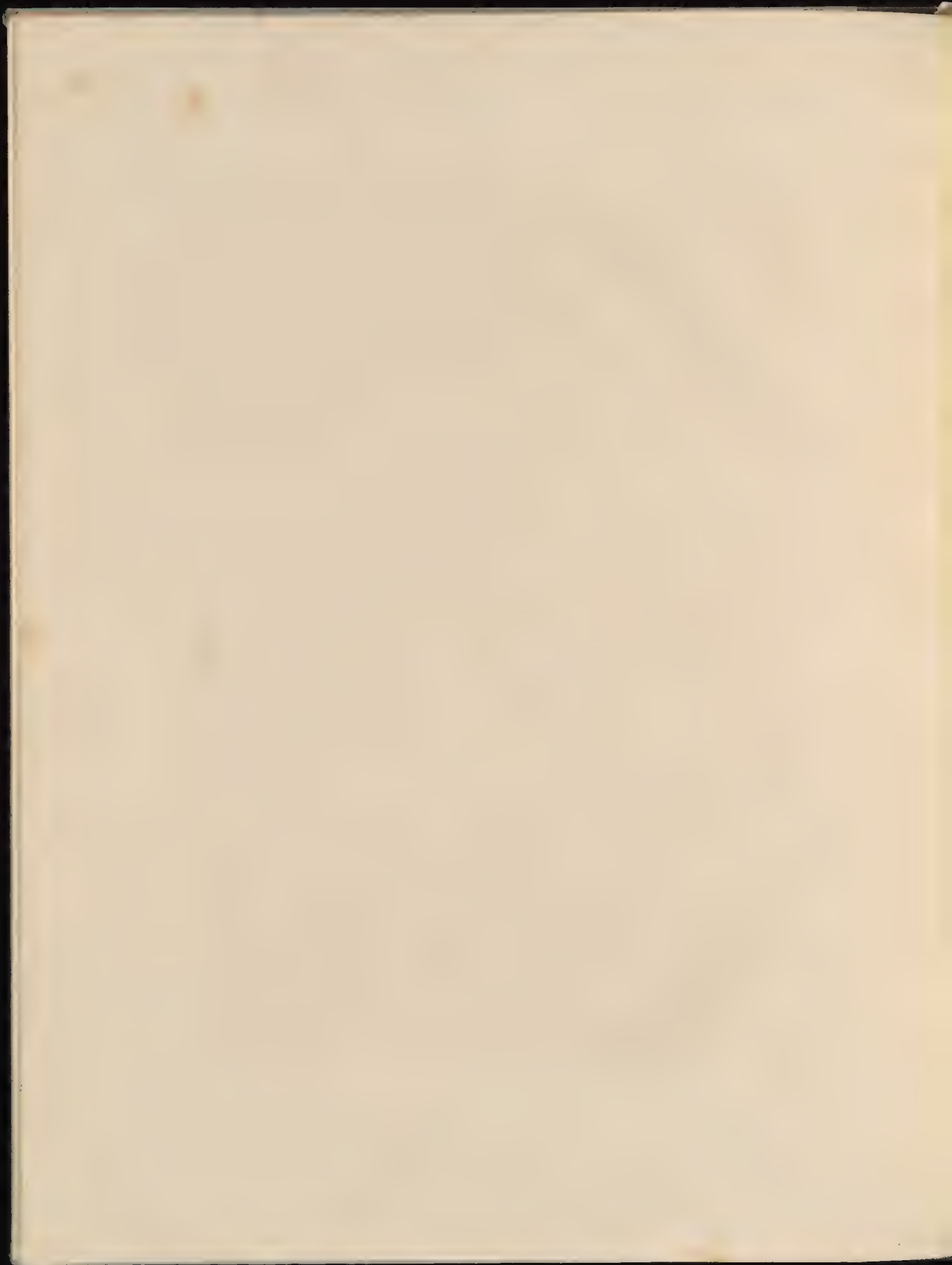
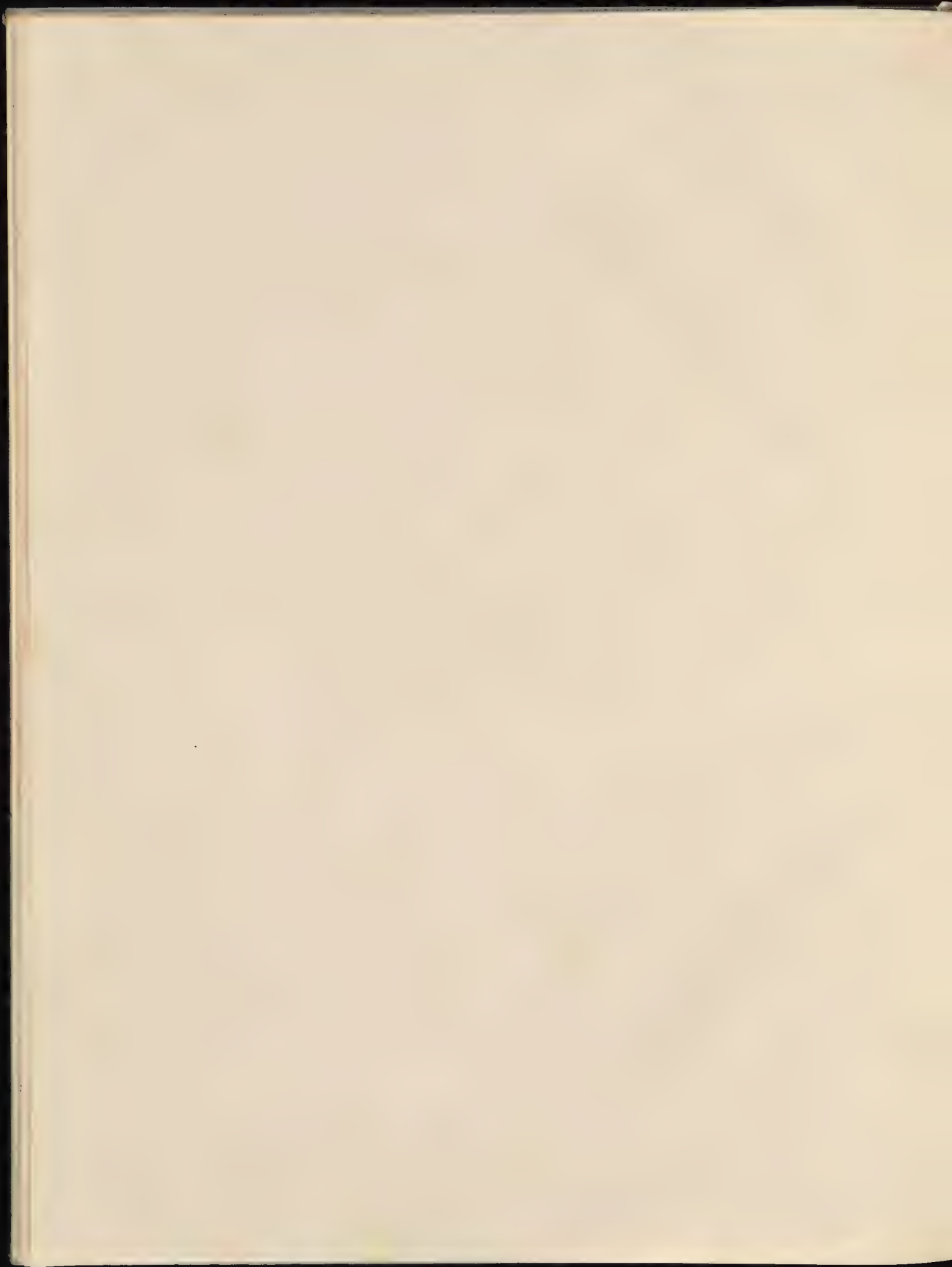


PLATE III
BOOK III CH I
OF NATURAL DISPOSITION
See page 8





Moïſe. C'ſcelo
pape eſt propre
ment ymage de
aduenir. Ceſt adu

re. que quant vng enfant eſt en
ſa ſeigneſte de bonne phyſionomie
et de bonnes meurs et ſuit tel q
ſon aage peut ſouffrir ou encoze.



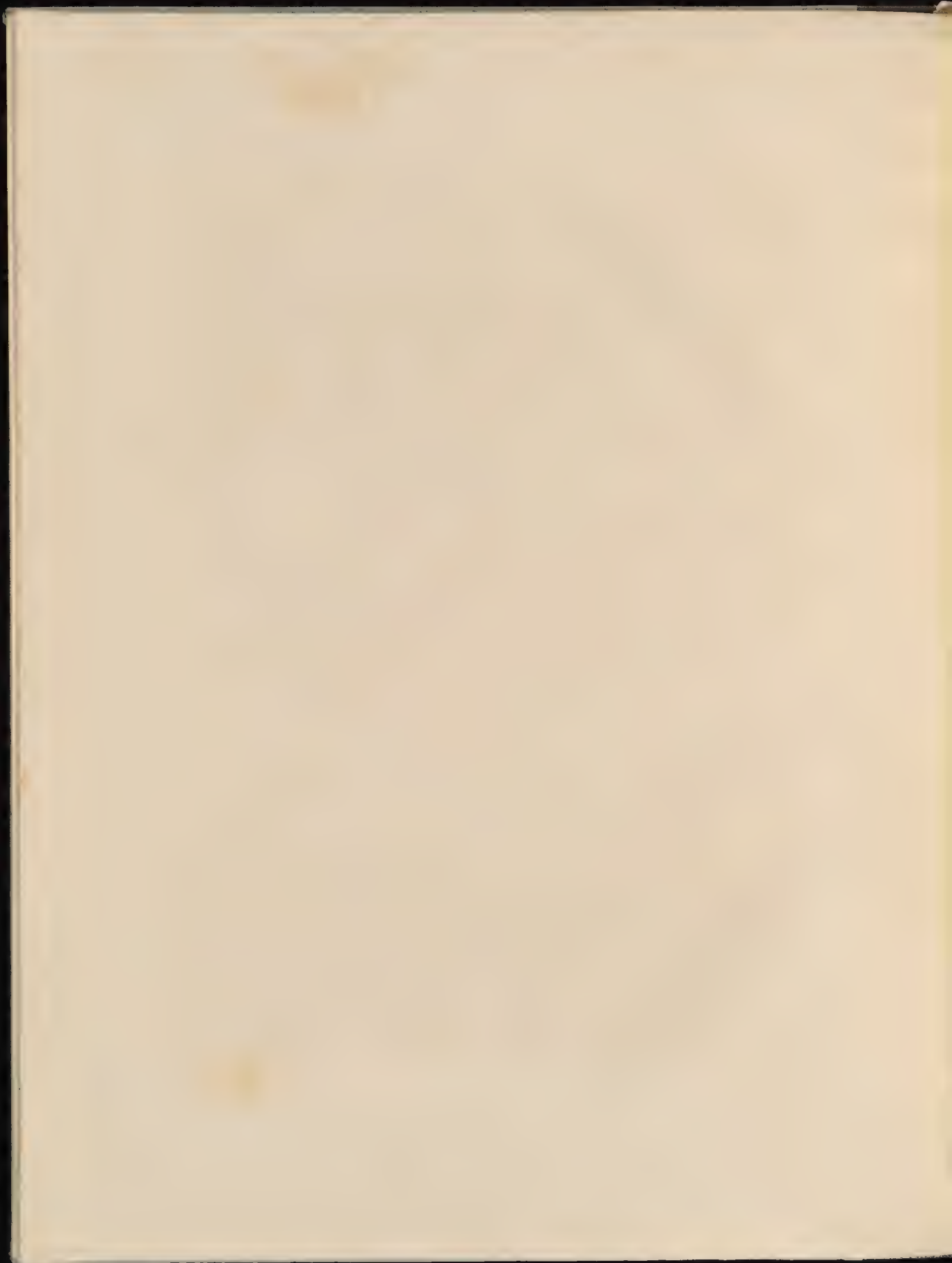
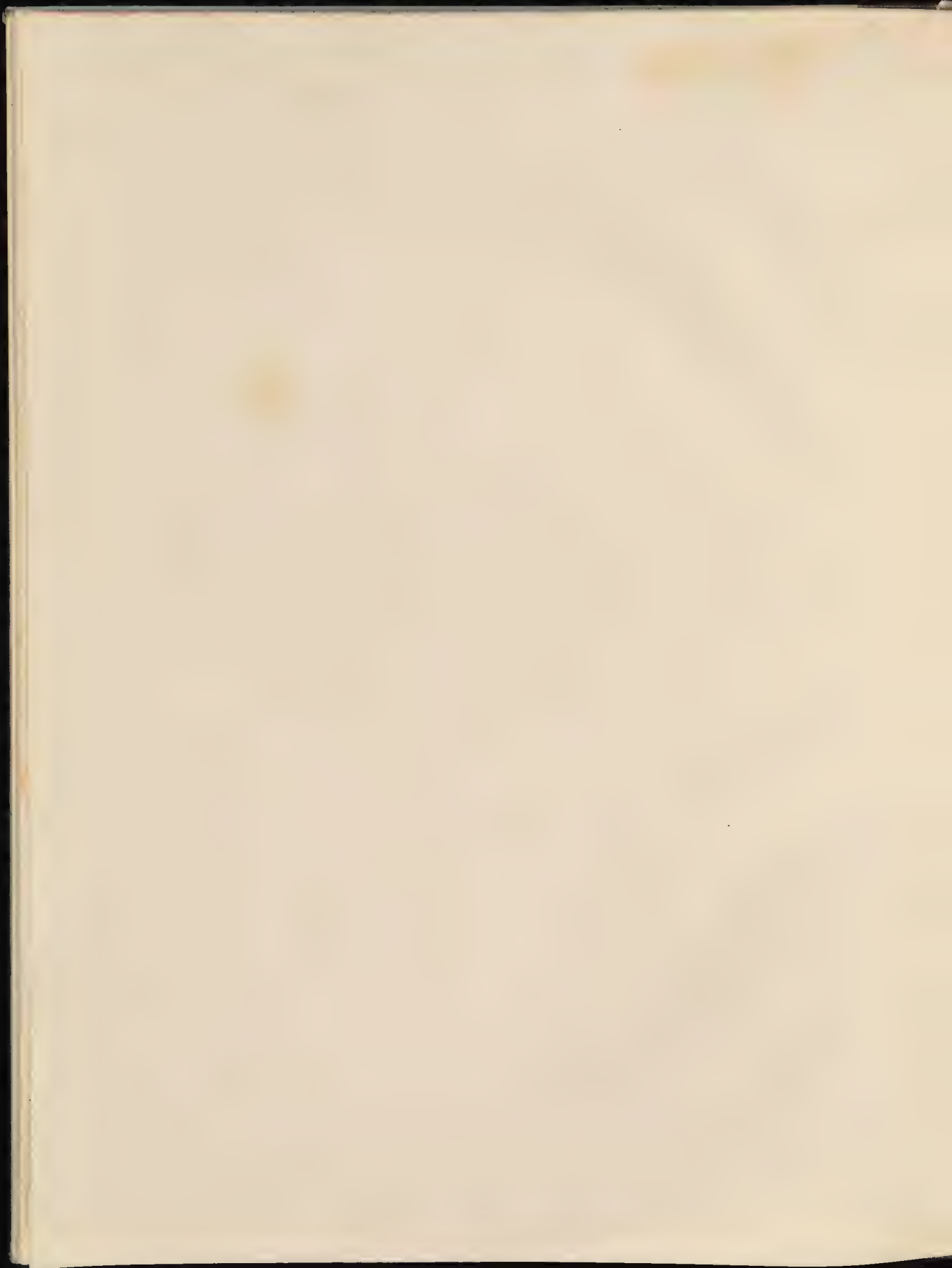


PLATE IV
BOOK IV, CH. 1
OF MODERATION
See page 8





Et transgrediar.
En ceste partie du
livre commence son
un livre ou quel



il ya hinc chapres: **E** le pre
mier est de moderation **E** le se
cond de ceulz qui furent enuoyez
et puis reunirent aume **E** le



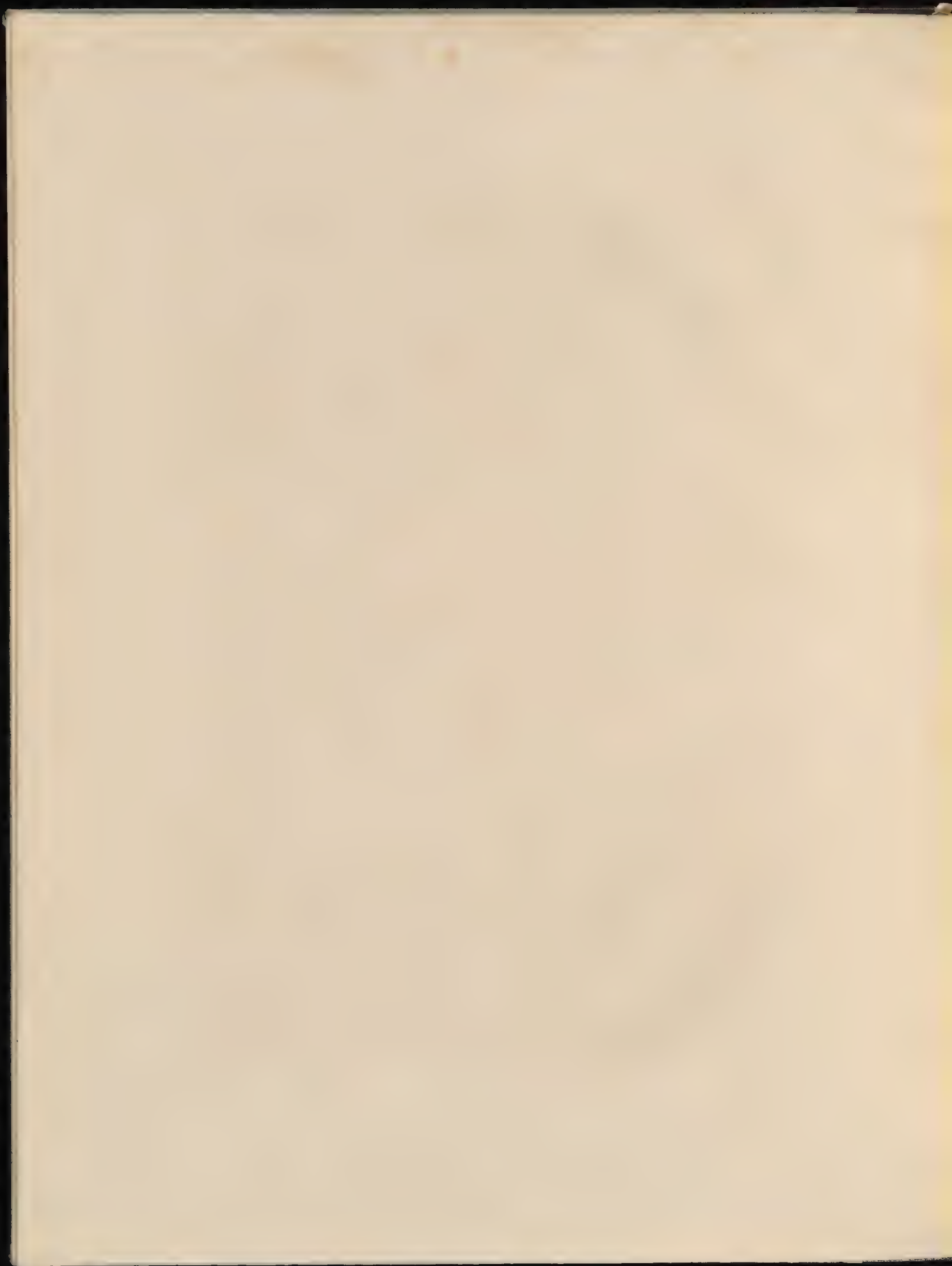
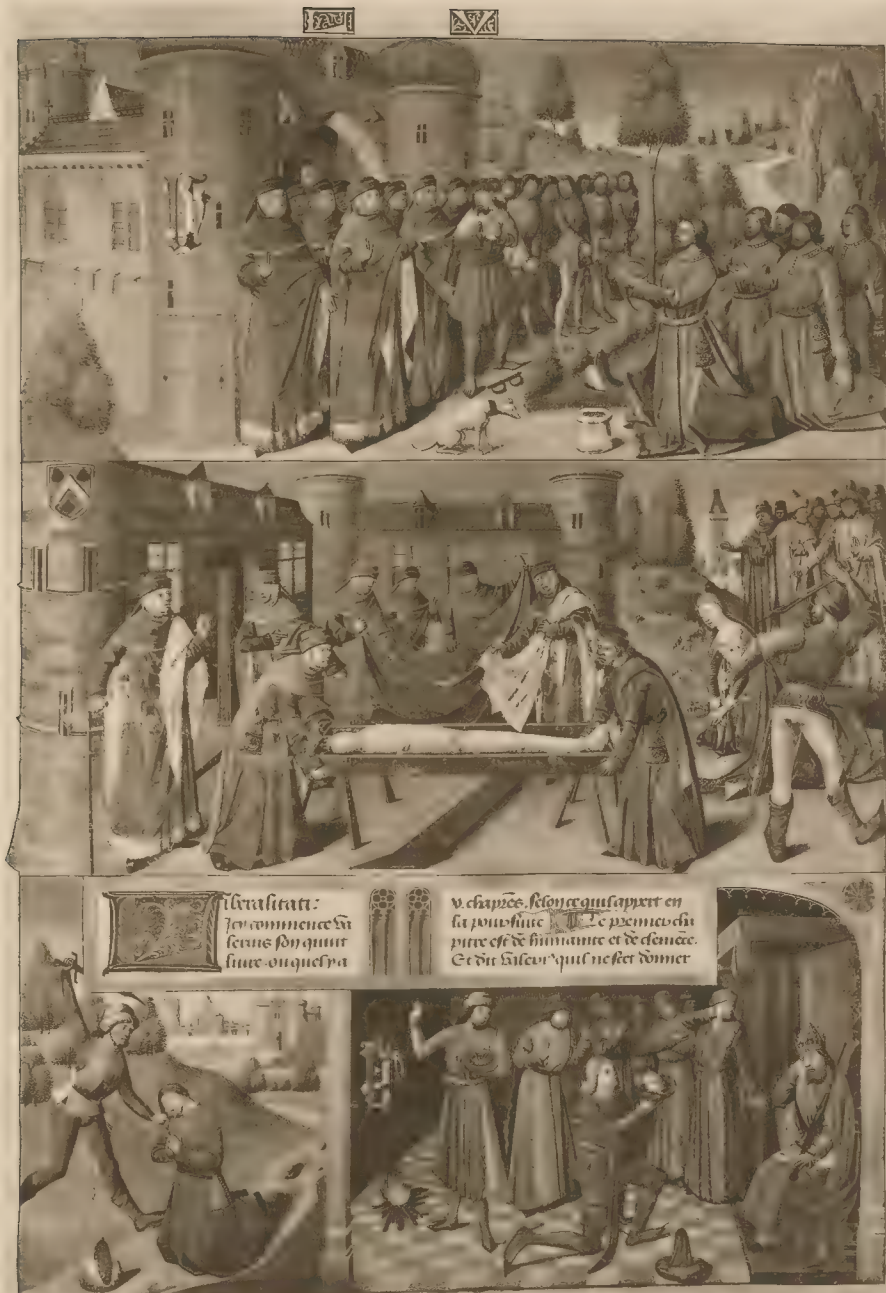


PLATE V
BOOK V, CH. I
OF HUMANITY AND CLEMENCY
See page 8





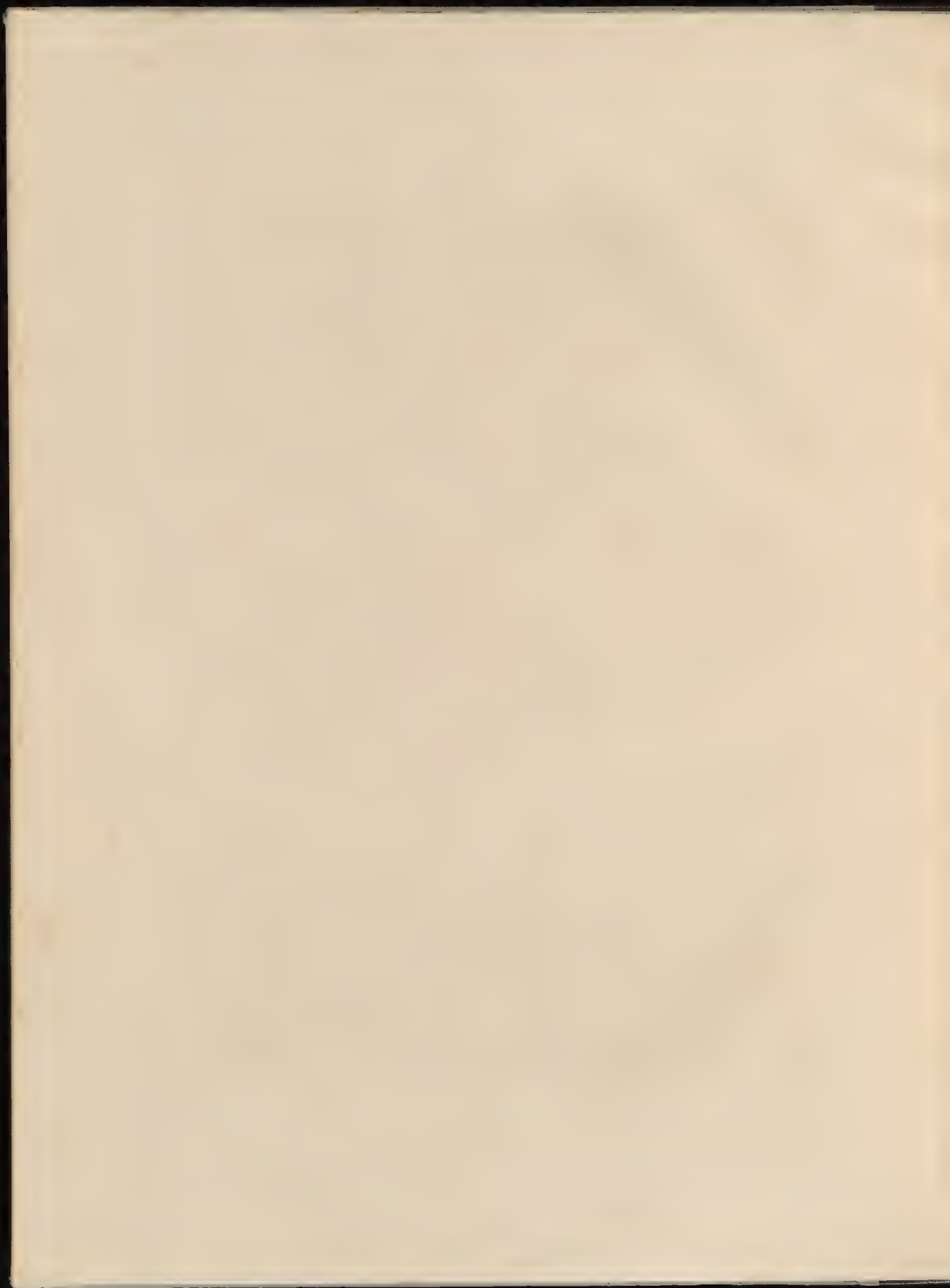


PLATE VI
BOOK VI, CH. I
OF CHASTITY
See page 8

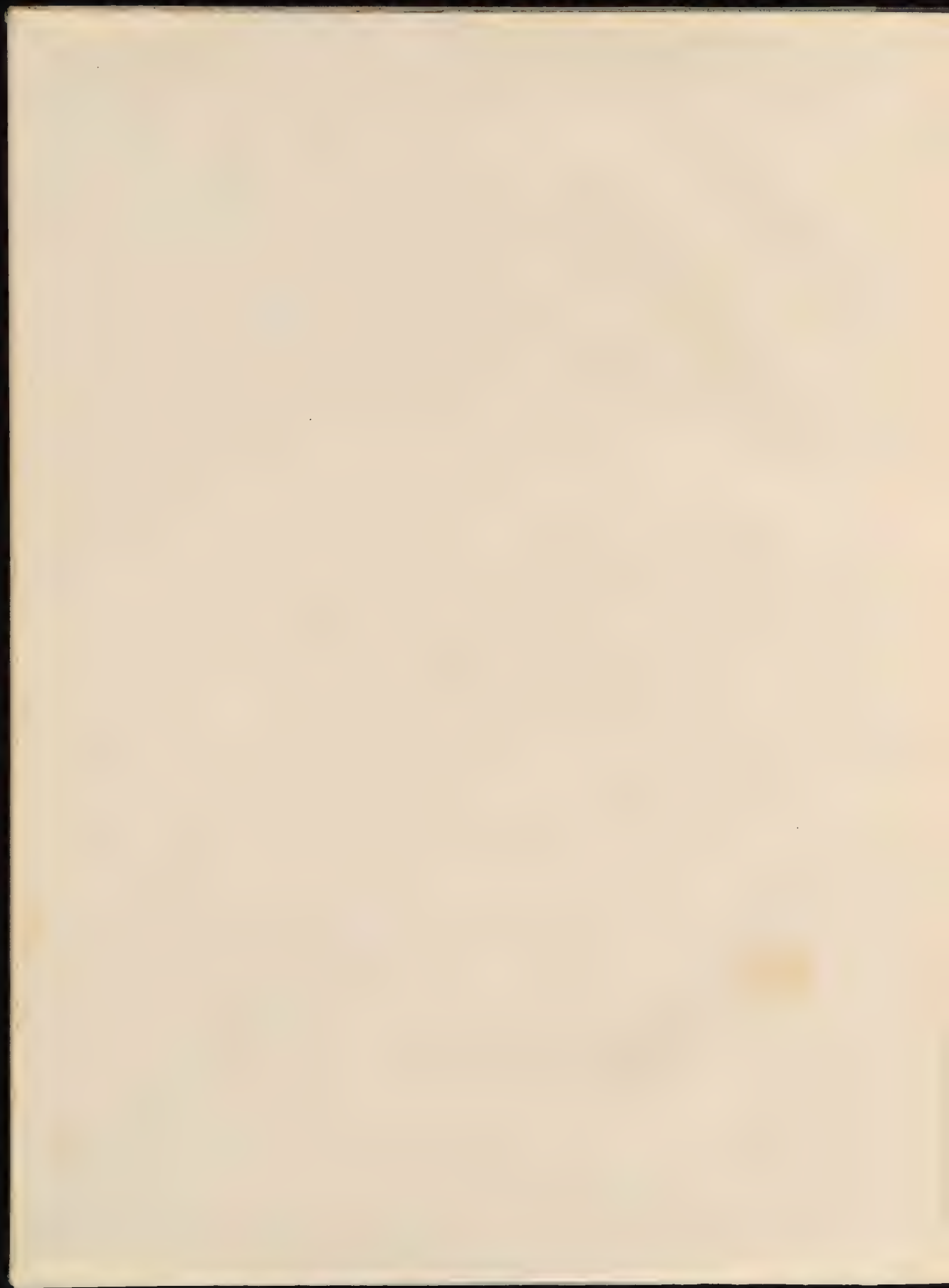
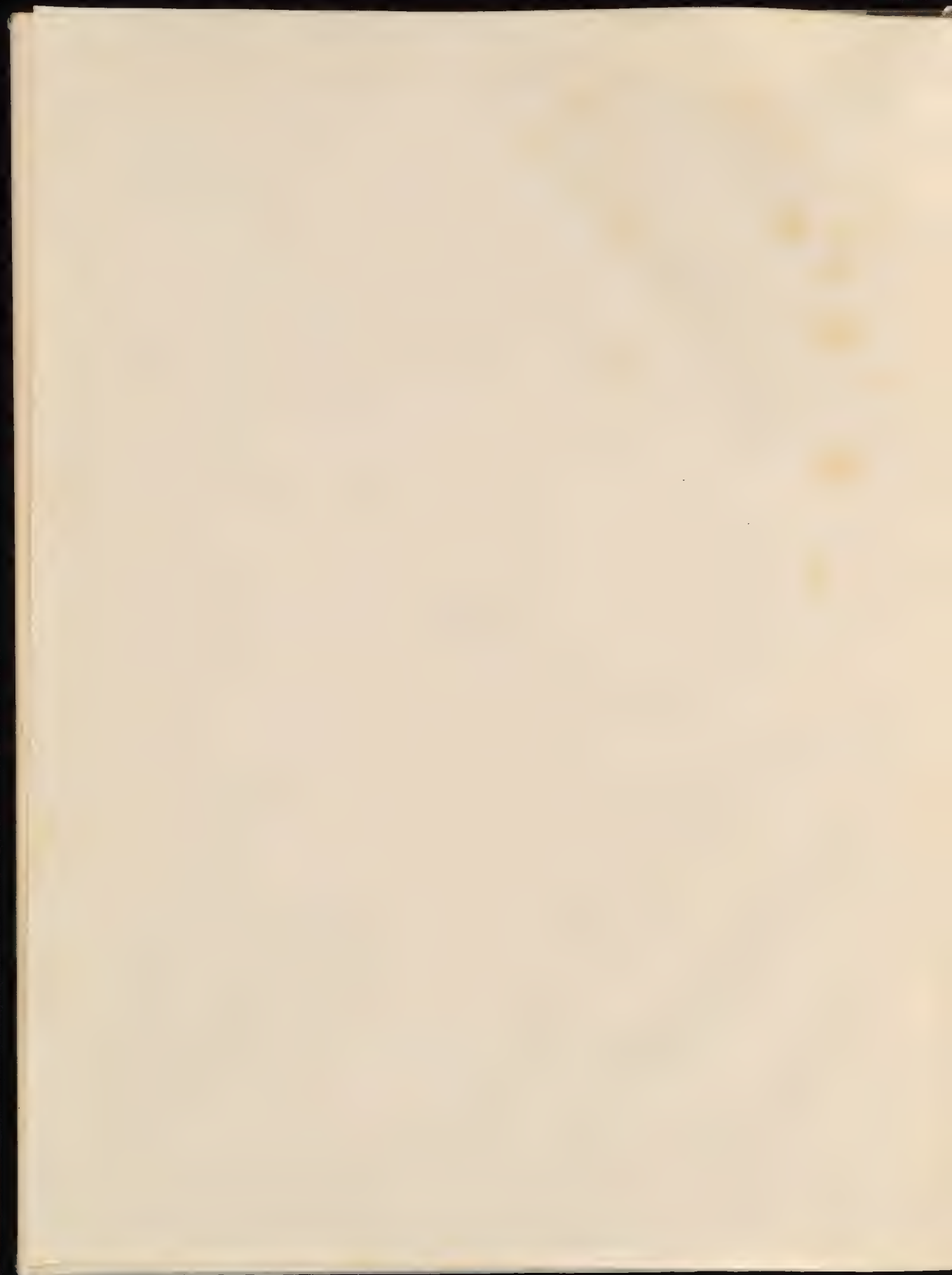






PLATE VII
BOOK VII CH I
OF HAPPINESS
See page 9





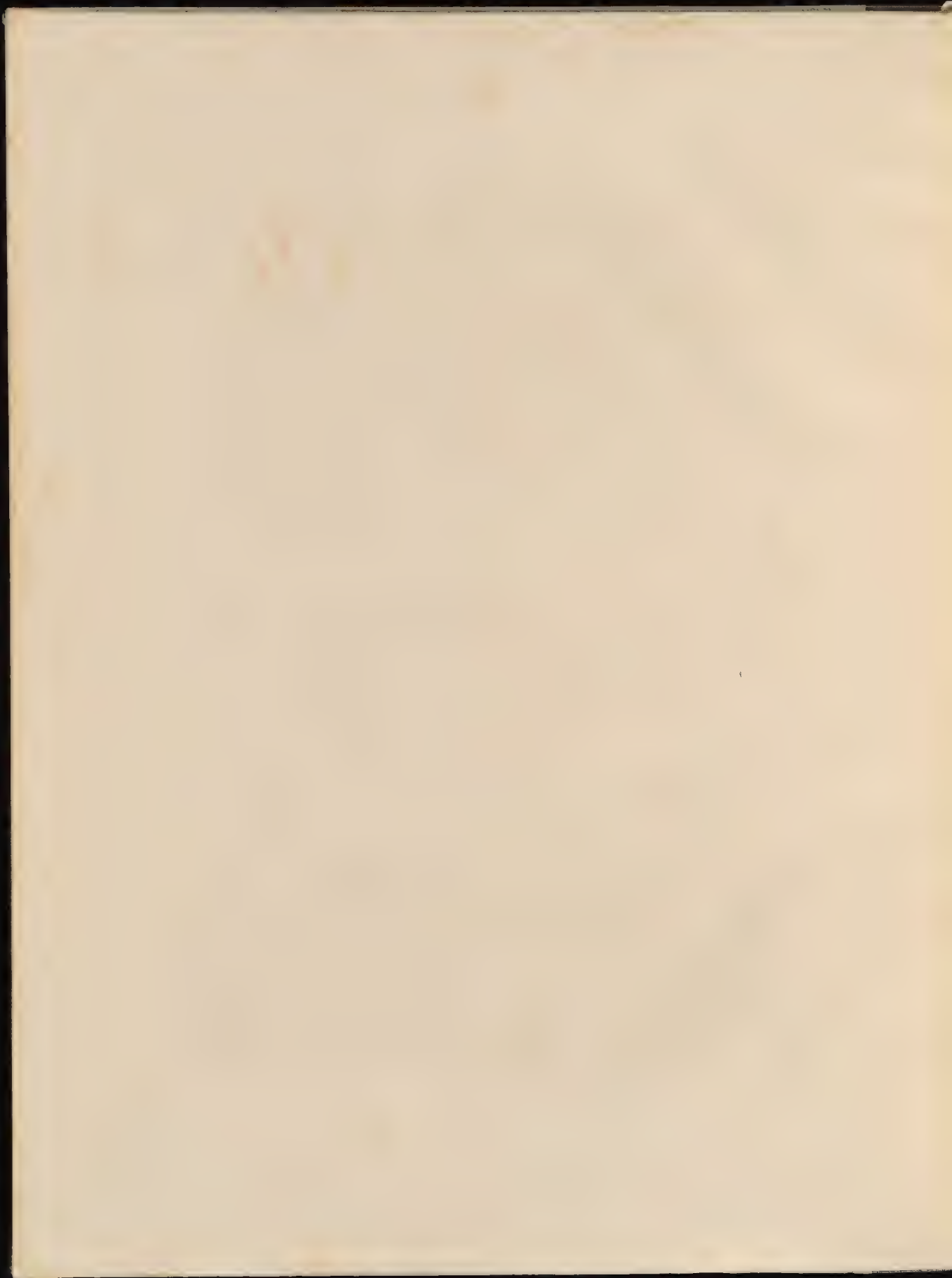


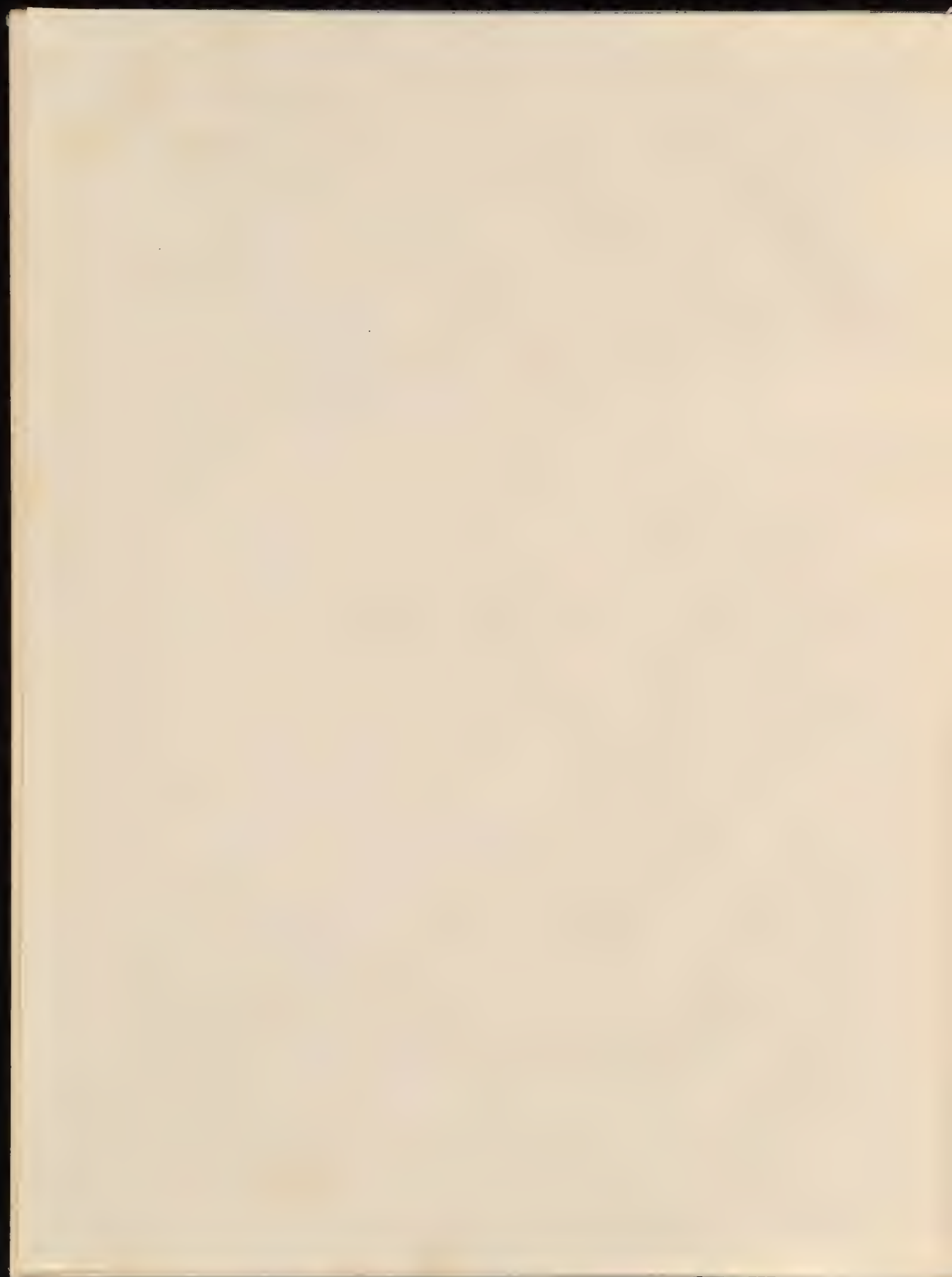
PLATE VIII
BOOK VIII, CH. I
OF JUDGEMENTS
See page 9







PLATE IX
BOOK IX, CH. I
OF LUXURY
See page 9







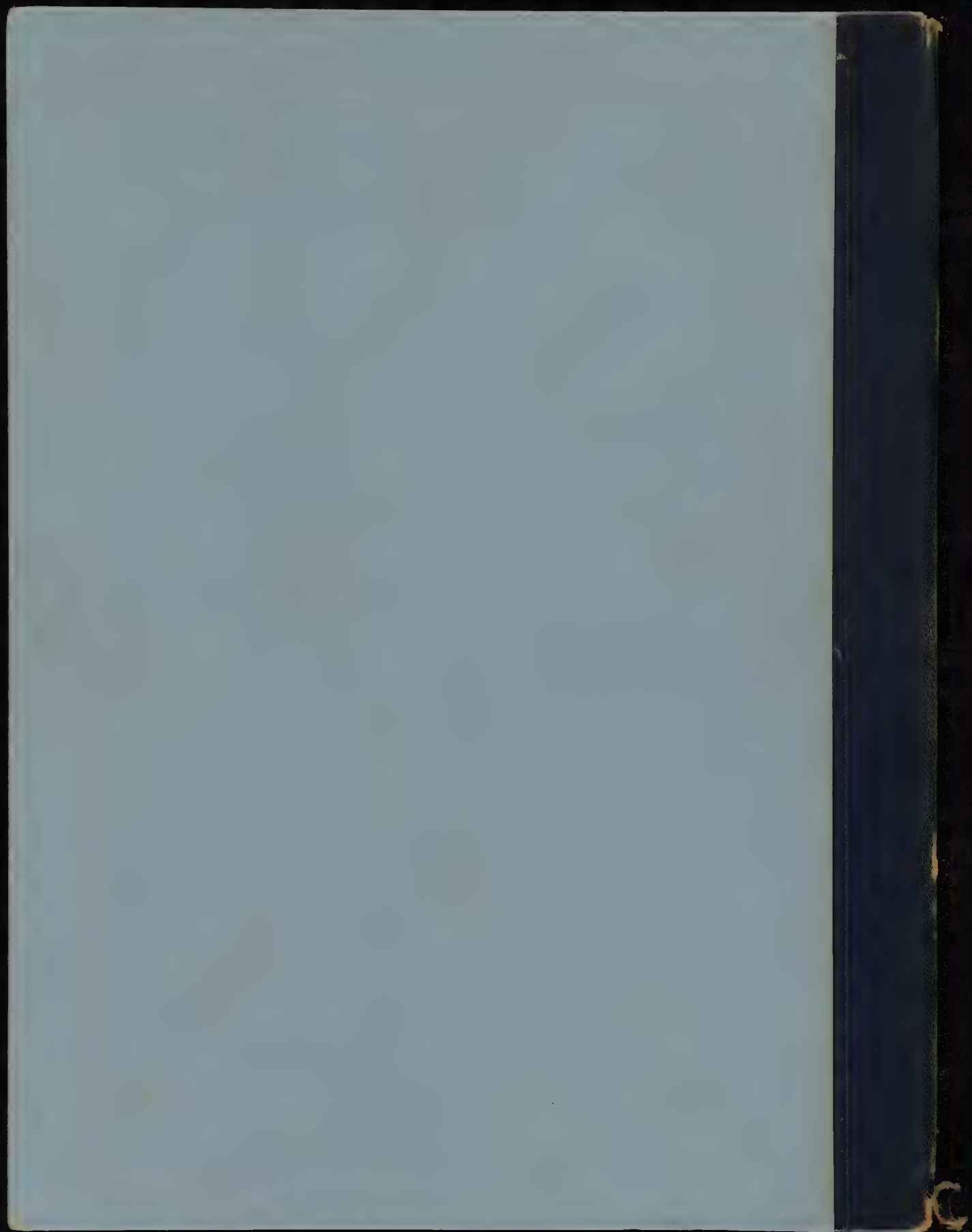


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LOT XCV.

THE BATTLE OF CANNAE.

On a page, apparently abstracted from a MS. of the 15th century, and attributed to Jean Foucquet of Tours. In a frame with movable back and blind.

C. Brunner f500

This remarkable drawing, which I have ventured to call the Battle of Cannae, is the opening page of that portion of a combined MS. copy of the "Histoire Ancienne jusqu'à César," by Wauchier de Denain, and the "Faits des Romains," by an anonymous author, which treats of the Punic War. It was, with three others from the same MS., purchased by me in London, having been previously in the well-known library of W. H. Crawford of Lakelands, co. Cork.

In 1903, I had become very familiar with the undoubted works of Jean Foucquet, in connection with the agreeable episode of my purchase of the second volume of a Josephus, with miniatures by him, the first volume of which was in the Bibliothèque Nationale, where my second volume has since joined it. Hoping to discover the rest of the great volume from which these four pages had evidently been abstracted, I then printed privately and distributed among the chief public and private libraries of England and America, reproductions of these four pages by photogravure and by three-colour process. Unhappily no result followed, and the book is still unknown.

The pictures themselves, however, which are, all things considered, in wonderful preservation, excited much attention among the bibliophiles of Paris, in 1904, when they were exhibited at the "Exposition des Primitifs Français," in the Pavillon de Marsan in the Louvre.

In the plate in this catalogue, which is the same scale as the original, it has not been possible to show the whole of the page,

which is $17\frac{1}{2}$ by 13 inches. At the bottom and the two sides there is a very handsome border, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the bottom, 2 inches on the right side and 1 inch on the left. It consists of conventional foliage in blue and gold, interspersed with small natural flowers, together with five men in rustic costume, a cat with a mouse in her mouth, a nondescript animal on its hind-legs, and a bird, each of which has a little green meadow on which to stand.

Perhaps the most interesting and exhaustive pronouncement on the subject of these four pages is contained in an article in the "Chronique des Arts" (a supplement to the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts") for April 30, 1904, in which M. Paul Leprieux, the accomplished Conservateur des Peintures, at the Louvre, discusses at some length the question of the attribution of these four paintings (miniatures they can scarcely be called, as they measure 10 inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$), and gives his opinion very decidedly in favour of their being the work of Jean Foucquet himself. I will quote his conclusions in his own words.

After stating that, in my monograph on the subject, I had only claimed, under all reserves, that the pictures were "the work of Foucquet, or some very capable imitator of his style," he proceeds as follows :

Nous croyons qu'on peut-être, au contraire, sur ce point tout à fait catégorique. C'est Foucquet lui-même que nous retrouvons ici vers la fin de sa carrière, à une époque sensiblement rapprochée du temps des "Antiquités Judaïques," entre 1465-70 et 1480. Non seulement l'aspect général des œuvres, le style des figures, l'accord particulier des tons (bleu, rouge, rose, jaune ou vert vif), avec leurs fins rehauts de hachures d'or si typiques, l'ingéniosité originale du motif dans la plupart des scènes, le merveilleux rendu des foules, la délicatesse de l'atmosphère et la beauté des paysages, rentrent au plus haut point dans ses habitudes et dans sa manière. Mais on peut relever, dans chacune des scènes, de menus détails si identiquement conformes à telle page connue du maître tourangeau (dans les "Heures d'Etienne Chevalier," ou le MS. de Josèphe), qu'elles sont ici comme un aveu même de sa main).

And, again, in his criticism of the page now offered for sale :

Chacune des autres miniatures prêterait à des rapprochements du même genre. Dans la "Guerre Punique," par exemple,

où l'agitation confuse et vivante de la bataille, les armures dorées, les oriflammes, les écus rouges marqués de l'insigne romaine, la forme des armes et jusqu'aux morts renversés, rappellent si complètement Foucquet. On peut constater aussi l'identité absolue de certains détails; tel le casque à ailerons d'un des chefs, déjà employé pour un des soldats porte-écus dans la "Mise au tombeau," des Heures; ou le mufler de lion tenant un anneau dans sa gueule, qui décore ici le bas d'une cuirasse, comme la plaque de poitrail d'un cheval dans le MS. de Josèphe, ou dans les Heures. Le paysage tourangeau herbeux et tranquille, qui forme fond, reparaît également plus d'une fois, à peu de chose près, dans son œuvre.

In conclusion, he writes :

Il y a donc là un ensemble de preuves suffisamment convaincant, pour qu'on puisse attribuer en toute sûreté ces quatre belles pages à Foucquet lui-même. Souhaitons que leur mise en lumière puisse aider à faire découvrir, soit d'autres feuilles similaires (car il peut en exister du même livre), soit surtout l'admirable volume d'où elles ont été arrachées.

Monsieur Leprieur, moreover, was not content with expressing the above very decided views. When, in 1912, I sent one of the four pages, that containing the picture of the "Crowning of Alexander," to be sold by auction at Messrs. Sotheby's, he came over himself to London, and purchased it for the Louvre. Since then the "Crowning of Alexander" has been exhibited among the acknowledged works of Foucquet in the Galleries of the Louvre, where I suppose it still remains, though unhappily Monsieur Leprieur himself has passed away.

N.B.—If so desired, I shall be happy to present to the purchaser of Lot XCV my illustrated monograph alluded to above, on Vol. II of the "Anciennetés des Juifs," by Josephus, and the four pages of the "Faits des Romains."



LONDON: J. DAVY & SONS, 8 & 9, FLEETH STREET, W. I.

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